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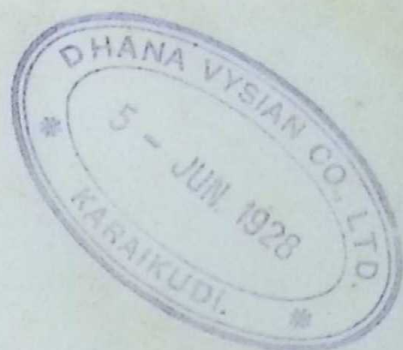
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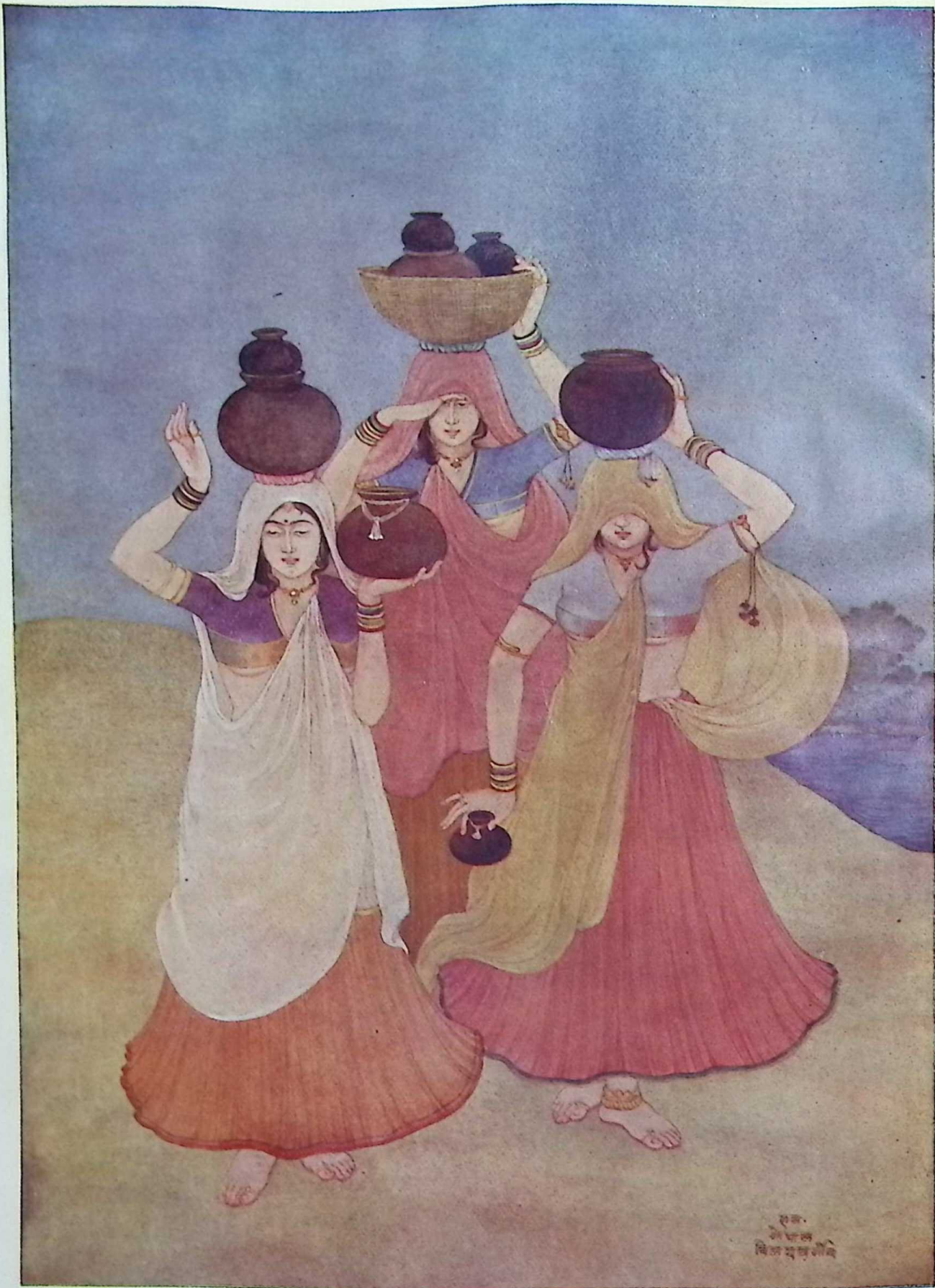
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MILKMAIDS, JAIPUR, RAJPUTANA
By Ram Gopal Vijaya-bargiya
[Courtesy of Mr. Profullanath Tagore]



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THE PATRIOT

BY RABINDRANATH TAGORE

(Translated by the author)

I am sure that Chitrageeta, who keeps strict record at the gate of Death, must have noted down in big letters accusations against me, which had escaped my attention altogether. On the other hand, many of my sins, that have passed unnoticed by others, loom large in my own memory. The story of my transgression, that I am going to relate, belongs to the latter kind, and I hope that a frank confession of it, before it is finally entered in the Book of Doom, may lessen its culpability.

It all happened yesterday afternoon, on a day of festival for the Jains in our neighbourhood. I was going out with my wife, Kalika, to tea at the house of my friend Nayanmohan.

My wife's name means, literally a 'bud.' It was given by my father-in-law, who is thus solely responsible for any discrepancy between its implication and the reality to which it is attached. There is not the least tremor of hesitancy in my wife's nature; her opinions on most subjects have reached their terminus. Once, when she had been vigorously engaged in picketing against British cloth in Burrabazar, the awe-struck members of her party in a fit of excessive admiration gave her the name, Dhruva-vrata, the woman of unwavering vows.

My name is Girindra, the Lord of the Rocks, so common among my countrymen, whose character generally fails to act up to it. Kalika's admirers simply know me as the husband of my wife and pay no heed

to my name. By good luck inherited from my ancestors I have, however, some kind of significance, which is considered to be convenient by her followers at the time of collecting subscriptions.

There is a greater chance of harmony between husband and wife, when they are different in character, like the shower of rain and the dry earth, than when they are of a uniform constitution. I am somewhat slipshod by nature, having no grip over things, while my wife has a tenacity of mind which never allows her to let go the thing which it has in its clutches. This very dissimilarity helps to preserve peace in our household.

But there is one point of difference between us, regarding which no adjustment has yet become possible. Kalika believes that I am unpatriotic.

This is very disconcerting, because according to her, truth is what she proclaims to be true. She has numerous internal evidences of my love for my country; but as it disdains to don the livery of the brand of nationalism, professed by her own party, she fiercely refuses to acknowledge it.

From my younger days, I have continued to be a confirmed book-lover: indeed, I am hopelessly addicted to buying books. Even my enemies would not dare to deny that I read them; and my friends know only too well how fond I am of discussing their contents. This had the effect of eliminating most of my friends, till I have left to me Banbihari, the sole companion of my lonely

debates. We have just passed through a period, when our police authorities, on the one hand, have associated the worst form of sedition with the presence of the Gita in our possession; and our patriots, on their side, have found it impossible to reconcile appreciation of foreign literature with devotion to one's Mother-land. Our traditional Goddess of culture, Saraswati, because of her white complexion, has come to be regarded with suspicion by our young nationalists. It was openly declared, when the students shunned their College lectures, that the water of the divine lake, on which Saraswati had her white lotus seat, had no efficacy in extinguishing the fire of ill-fortune that has been raging for centuries round the throne of our Mother, Bharat-Lakshmi. In any case, intellectual culture was considered to be a superfluity in the proper growth of our political life.

In spite of my wife's excellent example and powerful urgings I do not wear Khaddar, —not because there is anything wrong in it, nor because I am too fastidious in the choice of my wardrobe. On the contrary, among those of my traits, which are not in perfect consonance with our own national habits, I cannot include a scrupulous care as to how I dress. Once upon a time, before Kalika had her modern transformation, I used to wear broad-toed shoes from Chinese shops and forgot to have them polished. I had a dread of putting on socks: I preferred 'Punjabis' to English shirts, and overlooked their accidental deficiency in buttons. These habits of mine constantly produced domestic cataclysms, threatening our permanent separation. Kalika declared that she felt ashamed to appear before the public in my company. I readily absolved her from the wifely duty of accompanying me to those parties where my presence would be discordant.

The times have changed, but my evil fortune persists. Kalika still has the habit of repeating: "I am ashamed to go out with you." Formerly, I hesitated to adopt the uniform of her set, when she belonged to the pre-nationalist age; and I still feel reluctant to adopt the uniform of the present regime, to which she owns her allegiance.

The fault lies deep in my own nature. I shrink from all conscious display of sectarian marks about my person. This shyness on my part leads to incessant verbal explosions in our domestic world, because of the inherent incapacity of Kalika to accept

as final any natural difference, which her partner in life may possess. Her mind is like a mountain stream, that boisterously goes round and round a rock, pushing against it in a vain effort to make it flow with its own current. Her contact with a different point of view from her own seems to exercise an irresistible reflex action upon her nerves, throwing her into involuntary convulsions.

While getting ready to go out yesterday, the tone with which Kalika protested against my non-Khaddar dress was anything but sweet. Unfortunately, I had my inveterate pride of intellect, that forced me into a discussion with my wife. It was unpleasant, and what more, futile.

"Women find it convenient," I said to her, "to veil their eyes and walk tied to the leading strings of authority. They feel safe when they deprive their thoughts of all freedom, and confine them in the strict Zenana of conformity. Our ladies today have easily developed their devotion to Khaddar, because it has added to the overburdened list of our outward criterions of propriety, which seem to comfort them."

Kalika replied with almost fanatical fury: "It will be a great day for my country, when the sanctity of wearing Khaddar is as blindly believed in as a dip in the holy water of the Ganges. Reason crystallised becomes custom. Free thoughts are like ghosts, which find their bodies in convention. Then alone they have their solid work, and no longer float about in a thin atmosphere of vacillation."

I could see that these were the wise sayings of Nayanmohan, with the quotation marks worn out; Kalika found no difficulty in imagining that they were her own.

The man who invented the proverb, 'The silent silence all antagonist', must have been unmarried. It made my wife all the more furious, when I offered her no answer. "Your protest against caste", she explained, "is only confined to your mouth. We, on the contrary, carry it out in practice by imposing a uniformly white cover over all colour distinctions."

I was about to reply, that my protest against caste did truly have its origin in my mouth, whenever I accepted with relish the excellent food cooked by a Muhammadan. It was certainly oral, but not verbal; and its movements were truly inward. An external cover hides distinctions, but does not remove them.

I am sure my argument deserved utterance, but being a helpless male, I timidly sought safety in a speechless neutrality; for, I knew, from repeated experience, that such discussions, started in our domestic seclusion, are invariably carried by my wife, like soiled linen, to her friendly circle to be ruthlessly beaten and mangled. She has the unpleasant habit of collecting counter-arguments from the mouth of Professor Nayanmohan, exultantly flinging them in my face, and then rushing away from the arena without waiting for my answer.

I was perfectly certain about what was in store for me at the Professor's tea-table. There would be some abstruse dissertation on the relative position in Hindu culture of tradition and free thought, the inherited experience of ages and reason which is volatile, inconclusive, and colourlessly universal. In the meanwhile, the vision floated before my mind's eye of the newly-brought books, redolent of Morocco leather, mysteriously veiled in a brown paper cover, waiting for me by my cushions, with their shy virginity of uncut pages. All the same, I was compelled to keep my engagement by the dread of words, uttered and unuttered, and gestures suggestive of trouble.

We had travelled only a short distance from our house. Passing by the street-hydrant, we had reached the tiled hut occupied by an up-country shopkeeper, who was giving various forms to indigestibility in his cauldron of boiling mustard oil, when we were obstructed by a fearful uproar.

The Marwaris, proceeding to their temple, carrying their costly paraphernalia of worship, had suddenly stopped at this place. There were angry shouts, mingled with the sound of thrashing, and I thought that the crowd were dealing with some pickpocket, enjoying the vigour of their own indignation, which gave them the delightful freedom to be merciless towards one of their own fellow beings. When, by dint of impatient tooting of horn, our motor car reached the centre of the excited crowd, we found that the old municipal sweeper of our district was being beaten. He had just taken his afternoon bath and was carrying a bucket of

clean water in his right hand with a broom under his arm. Dressed in a check-patterned vest, with carefully combed hair still wet, he was walking home, holding his seven-year-old grandson by his left hand, when accidentally he came in contact with somebody, or something, which gave rise to this violent outburst. The boy was piteously imploring everybody not to hurt his grandfather; and the old man himself with joined hands uplifted, was asking forgiveness for his unintentional offence. Tears were streaming from his frightened eyes, and blood was smeared across his grey beard.

The sight was intolerable to me. I decided at once to take up the sweeper into my car and thereby demonstrate to the pious party, that I was not of their cult.

Noticing my restlessness, Kalika guessed what was in my mind. Gripping my arm, she whispered: "What are you doing? Don't you see he is a sweeper?"

"He may be a sweeper," said I, "but those people have no right to beat him in this brutal manner."

"It's his own fault," Kalika answered, "Would it have hurt his dignity, if he had avoided the middle of the road?"

"I don't know," I said impatiently. "Anyhow, I am going to take him into my car."

"Then I leave your car this moment," said Kalika angrily. "I refuse to travel with a sweeper."

"Can't you see," I argued, "that he was just bathed, and his clothes are clean,—in fact, much cleaner than those of the people who are beating him?"

"He's a sweeper!" She said decisively. Then she called to the chauffeur, "Gangadin, drive on".

I was defeated. It was my cowardice.

Nayanmohan, I am told, brought out some very profound sociological arguments, at the tea-table, specially dealing with the inevitable inequality imposed upon men by their profession and the natural humiliation which is inherent in the scheme of things. But his words did not reach my ears, and I sat silent all through the evening.

1928—Madras.

THE KIND OF "PEACE" BRITAIN HAS GIVEN INDIA

(India's Pax-Britannica)

By J. T. SUNDERLAND

THERE lies before me as I write an old number of *The Atlantic Monthly*, dated June, 1908, containing an article, by Mr. J. M. Hubbard, on British Rule in India, in which I find, among much else of similar nature, the following statement regarding the great blessing of peace which the Indian people were alleged to enjoy as the result of the conquest and government of their country by Great Britain. Says Mr. Hubbard :

India is enjoying peace which has not been disturbed for 50 years ; a peace which is not that maintained by force of arms, but which arises from pure contentment. Nowhere else in the world is there such contentment by people under a foreign yoke."

At the very time this article appeared, India was seething with discontent ; all Bengal was boiling with excitement and indignation over Lord Curzon's Partition of the province ; bombs were being thrown ; there were arrests without warrant and imprisonments on every hand, and Lajpat Rai, because he had presumed to plead for a place for India in the Empire like that of Canada, had been seized and hurried away to imprisonment in Burma.

I call attention to these statements of Mr. Hubbard because similar utterances have been coming to us in great numbers for fifty years, all praising Great Britain's so-called Pax-Britannica in India. Indeed, nothing is urged oftener to day in justification of British rule there than the claim that that rule has rescued the Indian people from perpetual wars and bloodshed, and given them the great blessing of peace, such peace as they had not known for centuries, if ever.

Is the claim true ? Was India a scene of perpetual conflict before the British came ? Did Britain come bringing peace—such peace, such rescue from war and bloodshed, such security, and therefore, such contentment, as has justified her in the past and as justifies her to-day in robbing the Indian people of their freedom and holding them in forced bondage ?

If Britain brought peace to India, was it peace only after forcing on her long and terrible wars, wars of conquest, wars bloodier than any she had ever known ?

And if the British gave India *internal* peace, did they give her also *external* peace ? Or did they force upon her participation in foreign wars almost without number, which cost her the blood of hundreds of thousands of her sons ?

Still further. What was the *nature* of the internal peace, such as it was, which they gave India ? was it of a kind which meant happiness, health, strength, sanitation of the country, freedom of the people, prosperity of the people ? Or was it a peace which meant foreign exploitation of the country, neglect of education, neglect of sanitation, impoverishment and starvation of the people, loss of national freedom, enslavement and degradation of the nation ?

Not all kinds of peace are better than war. Has the so-called peace which Britain has given India been better than war ? Or has it been, as many Indians and not a few Englishmen believe, worse than any wars that India had ever known before the British came ?

Let us see just what are the facts ?

First, as to the condition of India before the British made their advent. Was that condition one of such war and bloodshed as the British represent ?

So far as we can learn from the best historical records we possess, India, during most of its history before the British came, was more peaceful than Europe. For more than twelve hundred years—from the third or fourth century B. C. to the tenth A. D.—its leading religion was Buddhism, and, as is well-known, Buddhism has taught peace more strongly and secured it among its followers more effectively, during all its history, than has any other great religious faith known to the world.

At the time the British made their appearance in India there was unusual

tumult. The great Mogul Empire which had been the ruling power for several centuries was just breaking up. That, of course, caused, for a period, much conflict and bloodshed. The British took advantage of that, and by taking the part of one native state or one warring faction against another state or faction, secured such a foothold in the land as otherwise they could not have obtained. From this beginning they pushed on their conquests, by the use of much the same arts, until they had obtained supremacy everywhere. But it cannot be too strongly affirmed that much of the time before the British came, India was better fitted to teach peace to Europe than any European nation was to teach peace to her.

It is true that from time to time in its past history India had had wars on a more or less extensive scale between states or provinces or cities or native princes, much like the wars during the Middle Ages between the states and dukedoms and princes of Germany and France and Italy and England, and occasionally she had suffered more or less serious raids from outside like the cruel border raids of Scotland, with at long intervals a temporary great and devastating raid such as that of Nadir Shah. But never, in all her history, had she experienced any wars involving such vast destruction of life and property as the Thirty Years War of Germany, or the wars of Napoleon, or even the Civil War in the United States; and as to the Great War in Europe of 1914 to 1918, she had never known anything in any way to be compared with that.

Indeed, the bloodiest wars India has experienced in modern times, if not in all her history, have been those which the British themselves forced upon her, first those fought to conquer the country, lasting almost a century, and then, later,—that connected with what the British call the "mutiny" or "Sepoy Rebellion" but which the Indians call a "War for Independence." Said the London *Spectator* of April 27, 1910: "We took at least 100,000 Indian lives in the Mutiny." But that was only one war and a very short one; the number of Indian lives taken in the wars, and wars following wars, of conquest, was many times greater, reaching into the millions.

The world has little conception of the amount of Indian bloodshed in the long succession of wars waged by the British

to subdue all the different Indian peoples and states,—wars continuing on for nearly a hundred years, from Clive's battle of Arcot in the south in 1751, to General Gough's battle of Gujrat in the North-west in which the brave Sikhs were finally crushed in 1849. And it should not for a moment be forgotten that on the part of the British these wars were pure aggression—fought to gain forcible possession of a country to which they had no right; whereas on the part of the Indians, they were all patriotic wars, fought against invaders, fought to retain control of their own land.

British historians of India, desiring to justify their country before the world for conquering a great civilized nation and holding it in subjection, are wont to pass lightly over the terribly sanguinary character of these wars. Says Dickinson:

"We (the British) are accustomed to consider the battle of Waterloo one of the most sanguinary ever fought: yet the losses in some of our Indian battles of conquest were about double the loss at Waterloo. The loss in our Sutlej battles in 1846 was much more severe than that of Waterloo."

Does it become a nation, which, on coming to India, proceeded for a hundred years to pour out India's blood in such torrents, to boast of bringing her peace?

But not only did Great Britain shed rivers of Indian blood in conquering the country and later in putting down the so-called "Mutiny" of 1858, but from the very first until the present time she has all the while compelled (virtually compelled) Indians in large numbers to serve in her armies, in carrying on wars largely of aggression and conquest, many of them on borders of India, against neighboring peoples, to gain possession of their territory, and others in distant lands to enlarge or strengthen the British Empire there.

Notice first the almost continuous nearer wars which the British have fought (or forced their Indian soldiers to fight) along the borders of India to conquer contiguous peoples so as to annex their lands.

I wonder if my readers are acquainted with John Morley's description of the way which Great Britain, during all her history in India, has been constantly encroaching on her neighbors. Not only is it very illuminating, but it is especially interesting as coming from one who for some years was the Secretary of State for India in the British Cabinet. He calls it "The Rake's Progress."

Writes Morley :

"First, you push on into territories where you have no business to be, and where you had promised not to go; secondly, your intrusion provokes resentment, and resentment means resistance; thirdly, you instantly cry out that the people are rebellious and that their act is rebellion (this in spite of your own assurance that you have no intention of setting up a permanent sovereignty over them); fourthly, you send a force to stamp out the rebellion; and fifthly, having spread bloodshed, confusion and anarchy, you declare, with hands uplifted to the heavens, that moral reasons force you to stay, for if you were to leave, this territory would be left in a condition which no civilized power could contemplate with equanimity or with composure. These are the five stages of the Rake's Progress."

In other words, these are the steps by which Great Britain has insidiously and persistently extended the bounds of her Indian Empire.

A lurid light is thrown upon all this (that is, on the way Britain has *given India "peace"*) by a Parliamentary Report made in 1899 in the British House of Commons, on the demand of John Morley, showing just how many of those border wars there have been, in what localities and their exact nature. The Parliamentary Report revealed the amazing fact that during the 19th century Great Britain actually carried on, in connection with India, mainly on its borders, not fewer than one hundred and eleven (111) wars, raids, military expeditions and military campaigns. Think of this almost unbelievable number—nearly all, as Morley makes clear, wars and raids of pure aggression. Of course, more or less plausible excuses or pretexts were always found to justify them, a "quarrelsome neighbor," "a dangerous neighbor" a neighbour that had encroached upon India in some way and needed to be "punished," the necessity for a "better" or "more natural" or "scientific" "boundary" or "frontier" for India, etc., etc. But with scarcely an exception, their real object was to grab new territory.

Upon whom did Britain put the burden of carrying on these wars and campaigns—the burden of fighting those battles and shedding this blood? Mainly the Indians. And, why not? For was not Indian blood cheaper than that of Englishmen? But was it a great Benefit to India, a great improvement over former conditions, for the Indian people to be thus saved from local conflicts such as they had formerly known—from local wars, longer or shorter, of Indian States against Indian States and Indian

Princes against Indian Princes,—and instead to be compelled to lose their lives in these British wars after wars, and campaigns after campaigns, almost without ceasing, against neighboring peoples and nations, and all for the purpose of increasing the territory and augmenting the power of their foreign conquerors and masters?

It will be illuminating if I give a list of the wars and campaigns, most of them on the borders of India but some of them far away, carried on by Great Britain during the last half of the nineteenth century (from 1859 to 1900), campaigns and wars in which Indian troops were compelled to fight, in many cases to do the main fighting. The list, not quite complete, is as follows:

Two wars in distant China, in 1860 and 1900; the Bhutan War of 1864-65; the distant Abyssinian War of 1868; the Afghan War of 1878-79; after the massacre of the Kabul Mission, the second Afghan War of 1879-80; the distant Egyptian War of 1882; the Burmese War of 1885, ending in the annexation of Upper Burma in 1886; the military expedition to Sitana, 1858, on a small scale and on a large scale (the Sitana Campaign) in 1863; to Nepal and Sikkim in 1859; to Sikkim in 1864; a serious struggle in the North-west Frontier in 1868; military expeditions against the Lushais in 1871-72; against the Nagas in 1875; against the Afridis in 1877; against the Rampu Hill tribes in 1879; against the Wuziriz and Nagas in 1881; against the Akhas in 1884; a military expedition to the Zhob valley in 1884; a second to the same valley in 1884; military expeditions against Sikkim against the Akazais (the Black Mountain expedition), and against the Hill Tribes of the Northeast in 1888-89; another Black Mountain military expedition in 1890; a third in 1892; a military expedition to Manipur in 1890; another military expedition against the Lushais in 1891; one into the Miratzel Valley in 1891; the serious Tirah Campaign in which 40,000 men were engaged, in 1897-98; the military expedition against the Mashuds in 1901; that against the Kabalta in 1902; the invasion of Tibet in 1904. To these should be added the sending of Indian troops to distant Malta and Cyprus in 1878, and the expenditure of some \$10,000,000 in military operations to face what was described as the "Russian Menace" in 1884.

Let it be noted that this list, almost

unbelievably long as it is, includes none of Britain's wars or military expeditions, some of them of large magnitude and importance in which Indian soldiers had part, occurring in the nineteenth century *Previous to the year 1859*, nor, of course, does it include any of the wars fought by Great Britain (largely with the aid of Indian troops) in the *twentieth century*, culminating in the Great War of 1914 to 1918, in which the soldiers of India did remarkably effective (and sanguinary) fighting in France, Palestine, Syria and Mesopotamia. But the list is sufficiently full to show how almost constantly Great Britain has been carrying on wars during all her Indian history—some of them to enlarge the boundaries of India and some in distant parts of the earth all of them fought purely *in the interest of the British Empire* not one of them fought *in the interest of the Indian people*, yet *India's sons compelled to do a large part of the fighting, suffering and dying!* *

In view of all these rivers and rivers of blood which British rule has drawn from the veins of India's sons, we can well understand the lines wrung from the anguished soul of one of India's gifted woman poets :

"Lo, I have flung to the East and the West
Priceless treasures torn from my breast,
And yielded the sons of my stricken womb
To the drum-beats of England, the sabres of
doom
Gathered like pearls in their alien graves,
Silent they sleep by the Persian waves ;
Scattered like shells on Egyptian sands
They lie with pale brows and brave broken
hands.
They are strewn like blossoms mown down by
chance
On the blood-brown meadows of Flanders and
France.

O, England ! O, World !
Remember the blood of my slaughtered ones,
Weep for my dead, my martyred sons," †

So much then for *one side* of the *Pax-Britannica* which Great Britain has given India, a side which Britain persists in calling "peace," but which India calls very bloody and terrible wars.

There is *another side*. Is it any better ? Has it brought any more good, any less

suffering, or any less loss of life to the Indian people, than the cruel *war side* has done ?

We have already said, there are kinds of peace that are worse than war. Has Britain given India such peace ?

Practically all Indian authorities and also many eminent Englishmen deny that India's *Pax-Britannica* has been on the whole in the sum total of its effects any more a benefit to the Indian people than was the old *Pax-Romana* a benefit to the nations of the ancient Mediterranean world. Why was not that Roman peace a good ? Because it was created by force. And therefore, as is now recognized, it was really a peace of helplessness, of emasculation, a peace of nations reduced to such weakness, exhaustion and poverty, such loss of men and resources, such destruction of courage and hope, such physical, intellectual and moral decadence, that it was simply impossible to them to fight longer, and they were, therefore, compelled to submit and become subjects and political slaves of Rome. Looked at superficially and as to its immediate and temporary effects, the *pax-Romana* may have seemed a good. But looked at deeply, as we look at it to-day in the light of history, it is seen to have been a terrible calamity. Instead of advancing the progress of the nations concerned, it arrested their progress, probably for several centuries.

Peace caused by intelligence, justice and goodwill is always a good. It always tends to produce progress and civilization. But peace caused by force by war, by destroying the ability of nations to fight, by reducing nations and peoples to such a degree of poverty, helplessness, emasculation and despair that they cannot fight,—such a peace in the very nature of things is an evil—an evil far outweighing any seeming or superficial good that men may associate with it.

It is in *this light* that intelligent students are more and more judging, and that future generations will *wholly* judge, the lauded *Pax-Britannica* which by blood and slaughter, by all the horrors, ravages and destructions of war Great Britain has forced upon the Indian peoples.

Just what kind of an India has Britain's lauded "peace" produced ? The answer is seen in India's lack of enough schools and education, in her want of sufficient sanitation, in her unparalleled poverty (according to British high authorities one-third of her

* In the light of such revelations as these, one can hardly wonder at the words of Richard Cobden : "We British have been the most aggressive, quarrelsome, warlike, bloody nation under the sun."

† Sarojini Naidu,

population never knowing what a full meal is), in the untold millions of Indian men, women and children who have died from famines, from plague, cholera, fevers, influenza, malaria and other preventable diseases, who need not have died if the enormous sums of money spent by the government for militaristic and imperialistic ends and needlessly paid to foreigners in the form of fat salaries and pensions, had been expended for India's good for her prosperity, intelligence and health.

Says the *Modern Review* of Calcutta (December, 1920, p. 675):

"England claims to have given India the benefits of 'undisturbed peace.' Our reply is: What kind of peace has it been? What has it brought to India? Not only has India's blood been poured out in rivers at home and abroad, but India to-day is poorer, more illiterate, more famine-stricken, more disease-ridden, and inhabited by a worse fed and physically weaker population than any civilized country in these continents. During the many decades of this 'undisturbed peace' which England has blessed us with, India has lost more of her population by death than any other equally populous area on the earth even where peace has been most disturbed and wars worst."

Let me give some terrible facts about the single matter of birth and death-rates in India as compared with other lands. The average annual death-rate in England is only 13 per 1,000 of the population, and in the United States only 12 per 1,000. But in India, it is from 24 to 25 per 1,000, or fully twice as great. The average expectation of life (length of life) in England is 48 years, and in the United States 56 years. In impoverished India, it is only about one-half as long.

Who can estimate how many millions of unnecessary deaths this means annually? And to this loss should be added, as a British writer has pointed out, "the incidental suffering of those who die, the widows and orphans and other dependent ones left to suffer as the result of the death of heads of families. Also the loss of productive energy, to the country."*

The high death rate in India is sometimes attributed to climate and sometimes to malaria. But Lt. Col. Dunn, of the Indian Medical Service, says this is incorrect. He declares that if the laws of health were regarded in India to the same extent as in England, and if the same proportion of public money was spent on sanitation, the

death-rate in India would be no larger than in England. He avers that one-half of the death-rate is preventable, being due to the want of public health provisions, and the poverty and starvation of the people.

Consider malaria, which causes more suffering and larger numbers of deaths in India than anything else except poverty and famine. Arnold Lupton, an Englishman who speaks with authority, says in his recent book, "Happy India :"

"What a magnificent country India would be if only its malaria were abolished! And I am quite certain of this, that if instructions were given to the engineers in the employ of the British government in India to abolish malaria, and if they were allowed the requisite sums of money, they would soon make a great change...The banks of the Panama Canal were made into a place that could be visited as a sanatorium in consequence of the successful effort of the American engineers in charge to abolish malaria; and the malaria of the Panama Canal was the deadliest kind the world has ever known...If only the rulers of India could give their minds to those questions which concern the lives and health and well-being of the Indian people, instead of wasting their energies on other matters of no importance, India might be made a Sanatorium."

A high medical official connected with the British army in Bombay, who for 24 years had been in medical charge of extensive districts in various parts of India, told me in 1914 that the death-rate in India ought to be little or no higher than in England; because, he declared, where, proper sanitary regulations are observed, India is essentially as healthy a country to live in as England. Her high death-rate is preventable. It is caused by want of sanitation and public health regulations, bad water which the government should remedy, poverty and consequent starvation, and by the want of schools in which the laws of health can be taught to the children.

In the face of all these bitter facts, if we are honest and fair-minded, how can we avoid asking the questions: How great a boon to India has Britain's boasted "*pax-Britannica*" been? Even if Britain has saved India from the loss of some thousands or tens of thousands of lives in internal wars, does that atone for or should it hide from our view, the vastly greater number of Indian lives she has destroyed in her border and foreign wars, and, above all the uncounted millions who have perished at home for starvation and disease, for whose deaths she is largely responsible?

Some years before his death, William

* *Indian Journal of Economics*, January, 1924.

Jennings Bryan made a visit to India to study conditions there. After his return, he wrote and published a pamphlet on British Rule and Its Results, in which he said: "The British have conferred some benefits on India; but they have extorted an enormous price for them. While they have boasted of bringing peace to the living, they have *led millions to the peace of the grave.*"

Says Mahatma Gandhi, and no man weighs his words more carefully. than he :

"The kind of peace which British rule has brought to India, has been *worse than war.*"

As has already been said, Rome had her *Pax-Romana*. It was the prototype of England's "*Pax-Britannica*" in India. The historian Tacitus in describing that of Rome wrote the grim sentence, *Solitudinem faciunt pacem appellant.* Indian scholars employ this sentence of Tacitus to describe the work of the British in India, translating it, "*They have made a grave-yard, and they call it peace.*"

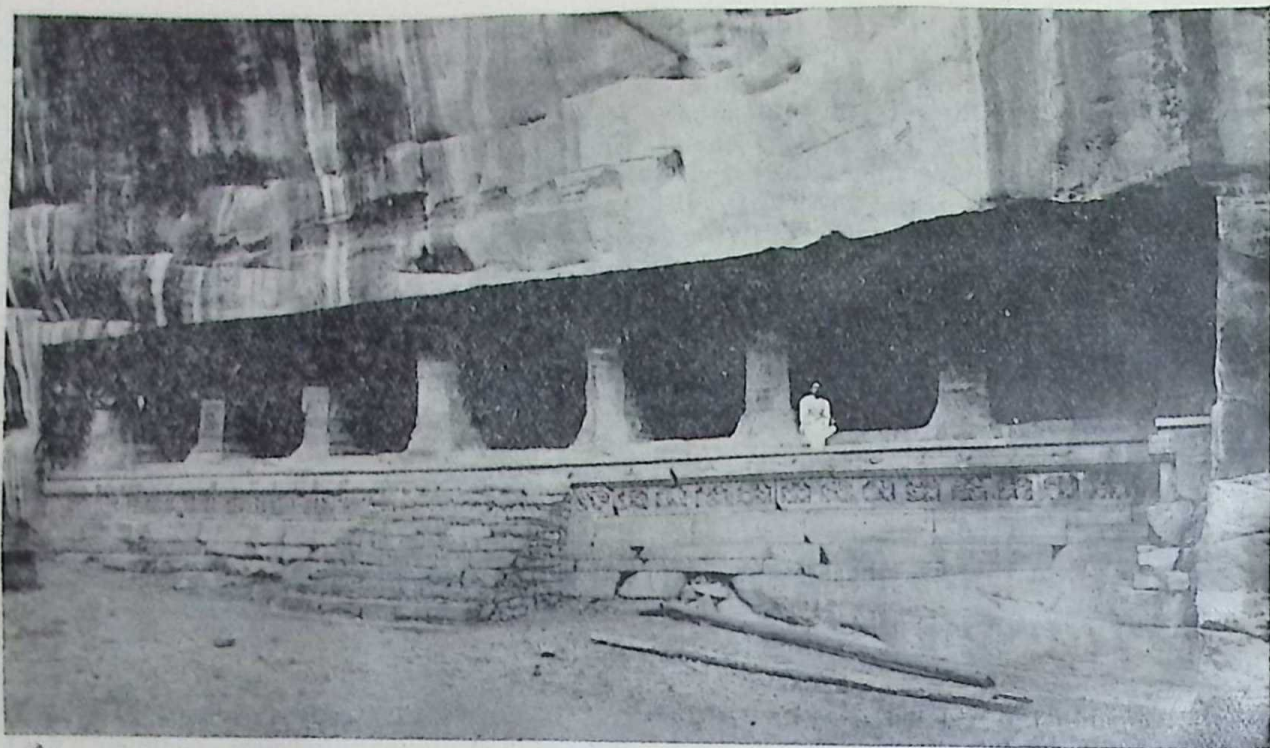
NON-BUDDHISTIC CAVE-TEMPLES

By R. D. BANERJI

THERE is a big interval between the early Buddhist and Jaina cave-temples and those of other sects. The earliest Jaina caves are those on the Khandagiri and Udayagiri hills near Bhubaneshwar in the Puri District of Orissa. Here there are two classes of caves ; (a) Temples or shrines and (b) dormitories. The dormitories are exactly similar in arrangement to the great Buddhist dormitories at Karla and Bhaja in the Poona district, Pandulena in the Nasik district, Kanheri in the Thana district of the Bombay Presidency and those at Ellora and Ajanta in the Nizam's dominions. In the dormitories of the Khandagiri and Udayagiri caves there is a stone bench running along the back and the side walls of the verandah, benches for sleeping with one end raised in the cells and arrangements for other creature comforts. It is the absence of such arrangements in certain caves which enable us to recognise the shrines.

The cave-temples excavated by the great Maurya Emperor Asoka and his grandson Dasaratha on the Barabar and Nagarjuni hills in the Gaya district were intended for the occupation of monks of the Ajivika sect. The Ajivikas were a sect which flourished in the 5th or the 4th century B.C. They are known to us from the inscriptions in these caves and Jain and Buddhist literature. We do not know for what reasons cave-temples were dedicated for their use by the Maurya Emperors, because some of these caves in

the Gaya district are really shrines, consisting of a round hut-shaped chamber with another, perhaps a verandah, in front. Their sole decoration consisted of the brilliant polish of the severely chaste walls. From the point of view of architecture they are interesting because they have recorded in stone the primitive type of the Ajivika or the Non-Buddhist temple. In Buddhism the *Stupa* or the *Chaitya* is round and any structure intended to contain a *stupa* at one end must necessarily be with a rounded end. But we cannot understand, after the lapse of 22 centuries, what was the necessity of perpetuating the overhanging roof of the Bengali or Bihari straw-thatched round hut. The cave-temples of the Gaya district excavated by Asoka possess narrow and plain entrances but those excavated in the first year of the reign of Dasaratha show a very narrow porch in front of the door. The only cave in the Barabar and Nagarjuni group which bears any kind of ornamentation is the Lomas Rishi cave, but unfortunately it bears no inscription and consequently it can not be dated as precisely as the six remaining ones of this group. The interior was only partly finished and the slightly inclined vertical section of the walls with their brilliant polish in patches prove that its date cannot be far distant from the Sudama or other caves. The most important part of this cave is its facade. On it is an elaborate bas-relief representing one end of



Facade of Cave No. IV (Vaishnava cave) at Badami, Bijapur Dist., Bombay Presidency

a long wooden hut with a thatched roof. Like the facades of the great Chaitya-halls of Karla or Kanheri it is an exact reproduction of wooden architecture in stone, down to the very nails. We see a hut on a double row of massive square wooden posts, with wooden rafters in the ceiling, the ends of which are so heavy as to hang low on the sides. The opening at the end of this hut is filled up with three semi-circular wooden beams, the interspaces between the first pair of which are filled up with *jali* or *jafri* work and the second with a bas relief, a procession of elephants. The plain entrance of the cave was excavated under this triple *torana*.

There is no such continuity in Jain caves which we find in the case of Buddhist caves. There are Jain caves at Badami in the Bijapur district, at Maungya Tungya in the Nasik district and at Ellora in the Nizam's dominions, but they are eight or more centuries later than the earliest Jain caves on the Khandagiri and Udayagiri hills of Orissa. Even the later group of Jain caves on the Khandagiri are at least eleven hundred years later in date than the great double-storied Rani Nur Gumpha excavated

by Kharavela, king of Kalinga. All later Jain caves are shrines and not dormitories and therefore one may be allowed to state that the custom of living in caves appears to have fallen into desuetude after the birth of Christ. Portuguese writers have recorded that Buddhist monks were living in the Konheri caves even towards the end of the sixteenth century.

Like Hindu temples Hindu caves are much later in date than Buddhist ones. The oldest Hindu cave is cave No. I at Elephanta. There may be older Hindu caves in existence but either we have no data to identify them as such or to date them as precisely as we can date the Kailasa cave at Ellora or Mangalesa's cave No. IV at Badami. It is only recently that the chance discovery of a stray inscription on a metal vase in the pool of water in the right wing of the great cave or cave No. I at Elephanta which enables us to fix its locality and date precisely. The great Trimurti, the principal bas-relief, in this cave, has long been recognised as the most expressive stone carving in India, but before the date of cave No. I was precisely known, it could not be classed as one of the earliest types of the



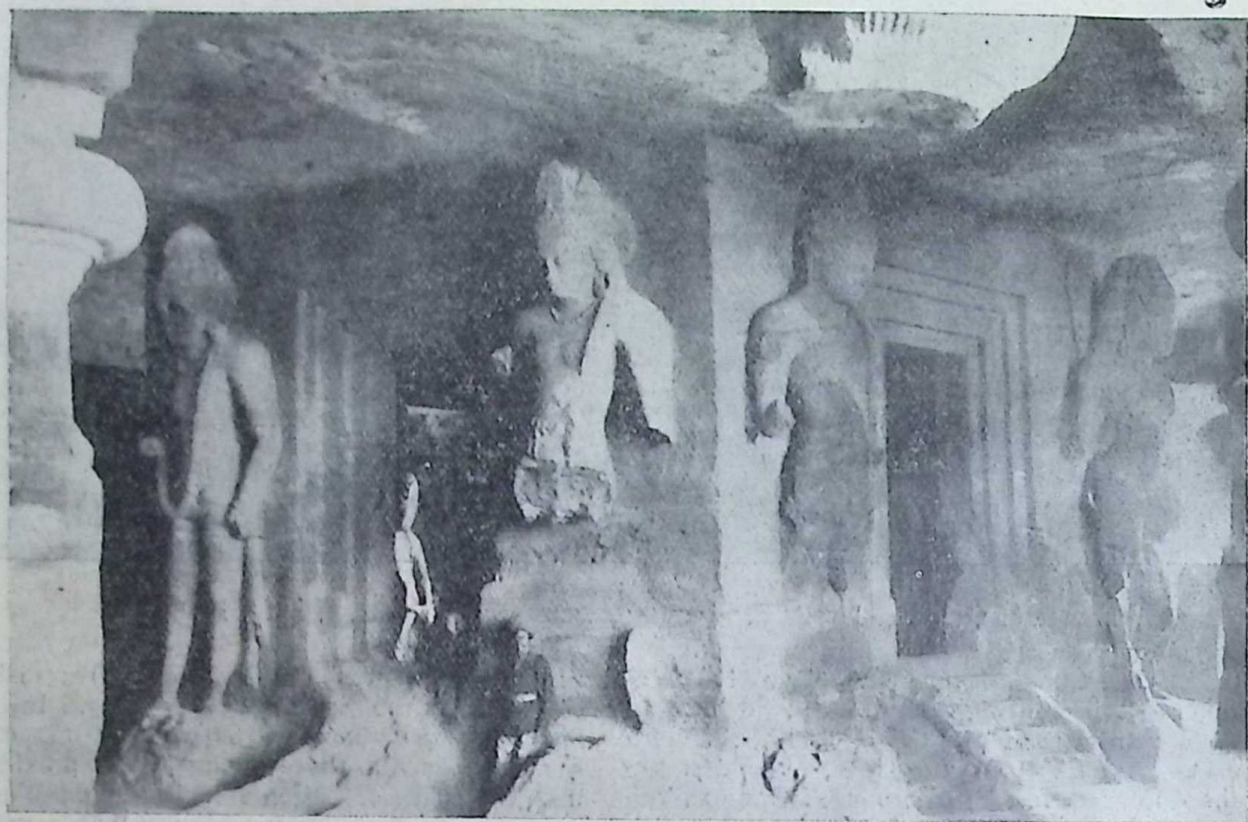
Facade of Cave No. I, (Saiva cave) at Badami, Bijapur Dist. Bombay Presidency

Hindu cave-temple proper. Cave No. I at Elephanta is a large open hall, decorated with a number of huge bas-reliefs. There are two wings on two sides, of which the right one was left incomplete. But in the main hall and the left wing the object of worship was not the great Trimurti or other bas-reliefs but a stone *linga* in a plain square shrine. In the main hall of cave No. I this shrine was not placed in the centre but slightly to the right, because the architect found that if it were placed in the centre then it would obstruct the view of the magnificent central bas-relief from the entrance. We may ask why the great Trimurti was not regarded as the presiding deity of this cave-temple? The answer is only partially ready. Hindu worship requires *pradakshina* or circum-ambulation. All the bassi-relievi being carved out of rock walls circum-ambulation was impossible in their case. So the Trimurti, the marriage of Siva, the attempt of Ravana to carry away Kailasa and other magnificent bas-reliefs of this cave are simply decorative features. The sanctum was the simple square cell slightly to the right, open on all sides, undecorated save for the

magnificent figures of the great Dvarapalas containing the symbol of virility. In the left wing also there are bas-reliefs but the sanctum is a square plain cell provided with a path of circum-ambulation. When we come to consider the plan of the earliest structural Hindu temples of Northern India then we shall be able to understand why the architect of this great cave-temple was forced to leave this passage and for what reasons the sanctum in the main hall of this cave is not exactly in the centre of the hall or of the rear wall. Later on, in the 6th century it became the fashion to have a second image for circum-ambulation in front of the sanctum in Hindu cave-temples. Therefore in the period of the Early great Chalukyas of Badami, the sanctum remained a mean insignificant dark chamber behind the rear wall in front of which were excavated a large open hall with the path of circum-ambulation separated from its centre by rows of pillars. This is the plan of the two Vaishnava-caves at Badami the cave-temple at Aihole, later cave-temples on Elephanta island and the Saiva cave at Badami. The same plan has been followed

to a very great extent in the solitary Jaina cave at Badami. I could not understand the cause of the peculiar position of the sanctum in the main hall of cave No. 1 at Elephanta before the discovery of the early Gupta temples of Bhumra * and Nachna Kuthara † and the excavations of caves II-V on Elephanta island.‡ The same idea prevails in the

ted. It is now known to be a monument of the time of the early Rashtrakuta king Krishna I and therefore belongs to the last decades of the eighth century A. D. In plan it is an excavation open towards the sky, consisting of a temple surrounded by an open courtyard on all sides. The fourth side has been enclosed with a porch constructed afterwards.



The main-shrine in Cave No. I, right side of the pillared hall, Elephanta near Bombay

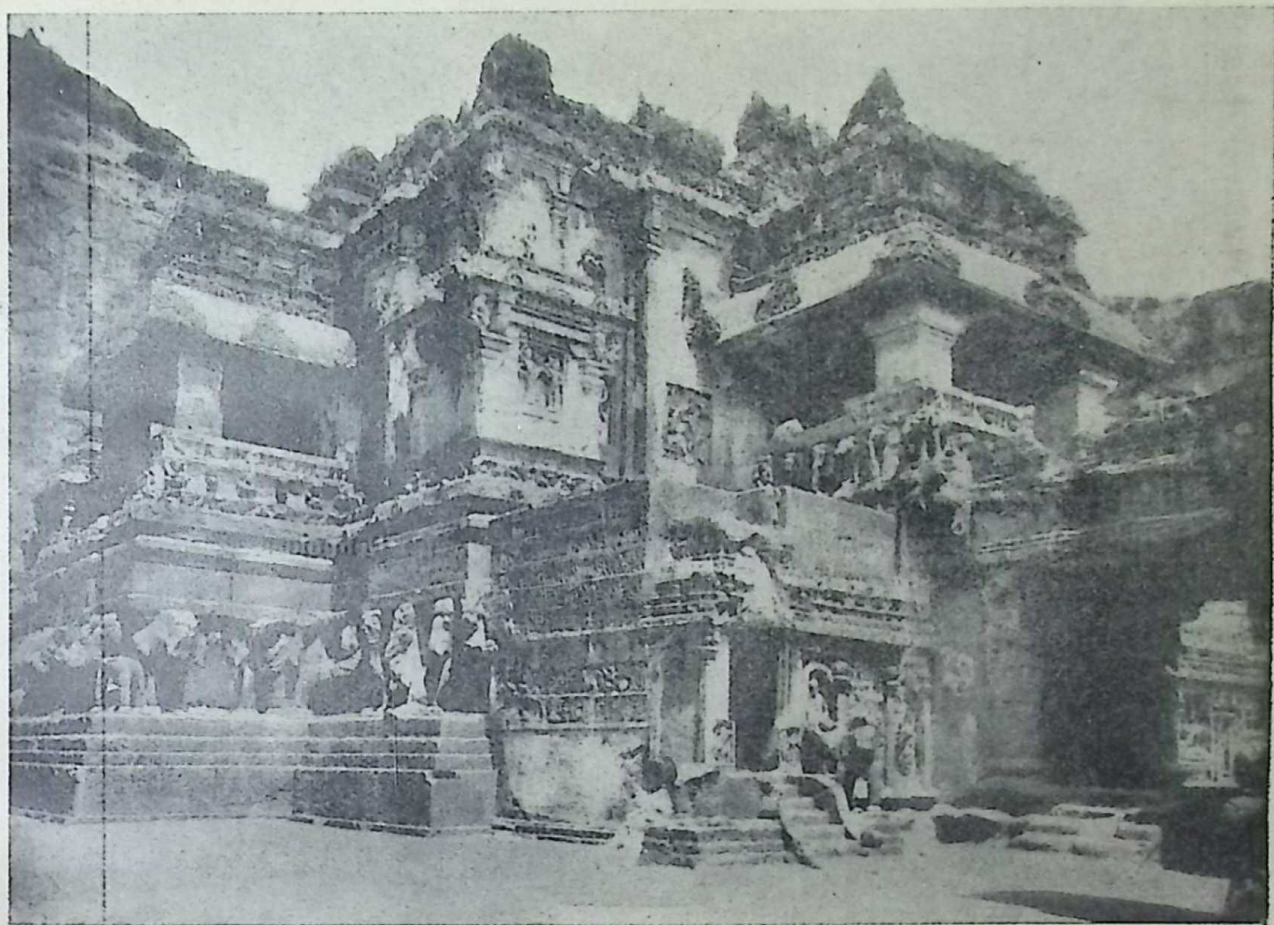
Monolithic temples at Mamallapuram in the Chingleput district of Madras as well as in the earlier group of structural Chalukya temples at Aihole and Pattadakal, to which reference will be made subsequently. In the case of the later Hindu caves of Western India, we find that the same idea led to the evolution of the plan of the great Kailasa temples at Ellora. The Kailasa is partly constructed but for the greater part excava-

Surrounding the courtyard, on three sides, there are galleries along the rock surface, partly single storied, and partly double storied. The rear or side walls of these galleries are covered with bas-reliefs. The main temple, though excavated out of the rock, rises free in the centre of the courtyard in the same fashion as any other mediæval temple. In this particular respect the Kailasa is different from all other Hindu cave-temples except the cave-temple of Dharmanatha at Dhamnar in the Rampura-Bhanpura district of Indore State and the Kholvi temple in the Jhalawar State. The only difference between the Kailasa temple and that of Lingaraja at Bhuvaneswar is that while the former is carved out of the

* *The Temple of Siva at Bhumra; Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India, No. 16.*

† *Progress report of the Archaeological Survey of India Western Circle for the year ending 31st March 1919, pp. 60-61; pl. XVI-XVII.*

‡ *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India, 1922-23, pp. 22-23; pl. XII.*



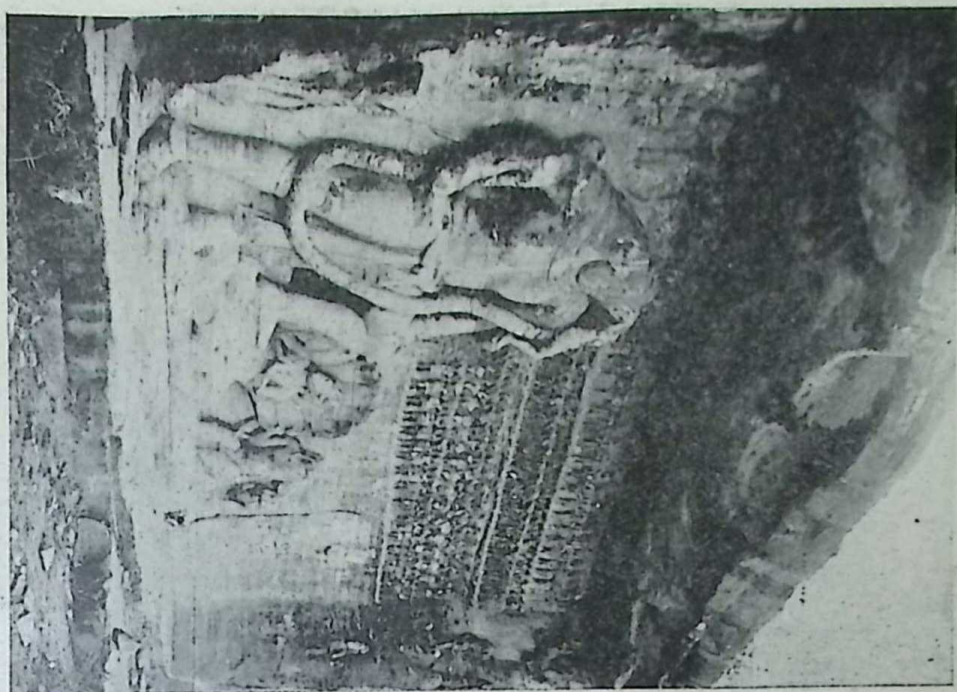
The Mainshrine of Kailasa rock cut temple at Ellora, showing
two of the three porches, Nizam's Dominions



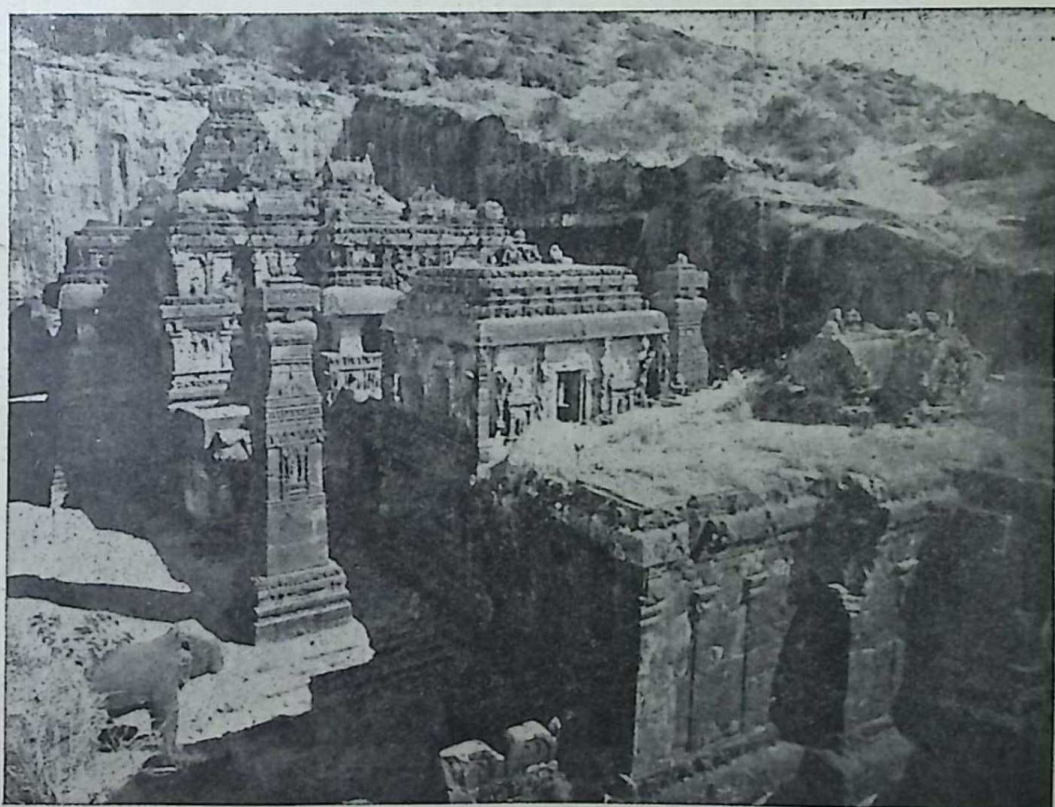
Verandah of the Rameswara Cave, Ellora, Nizam's Dominions.



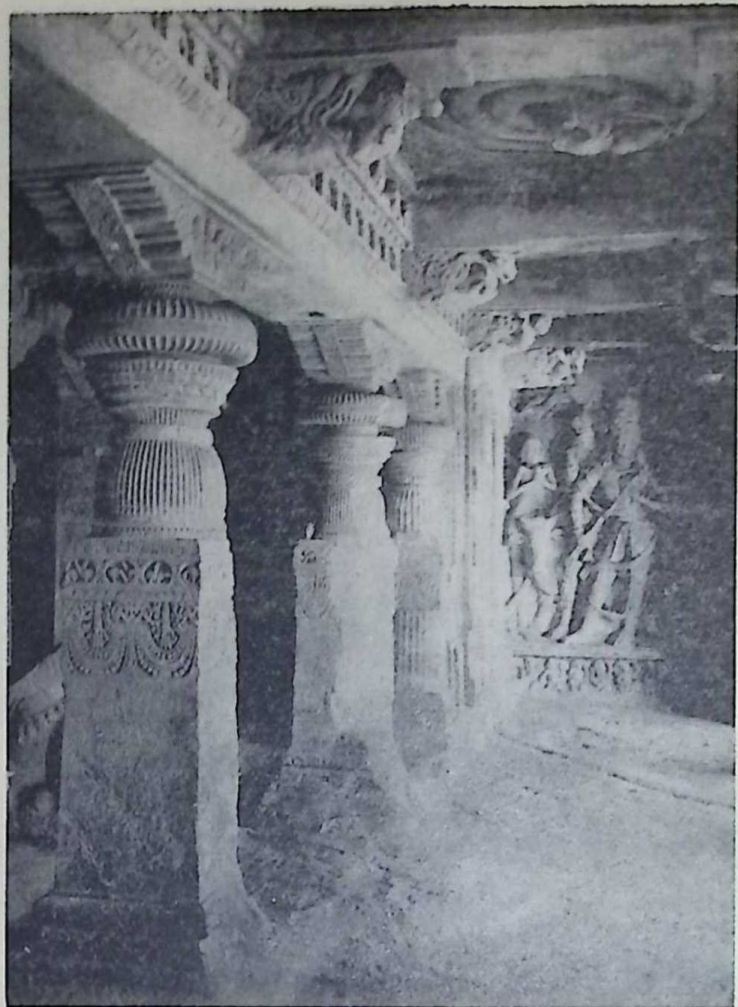
Facade of Rock-cut Jain Monastery excavated by Kharavela,
King of Kalinga, (2nd Century B. C.) at Udaygiri
near Bhuvaneswar, Dist. Puri.



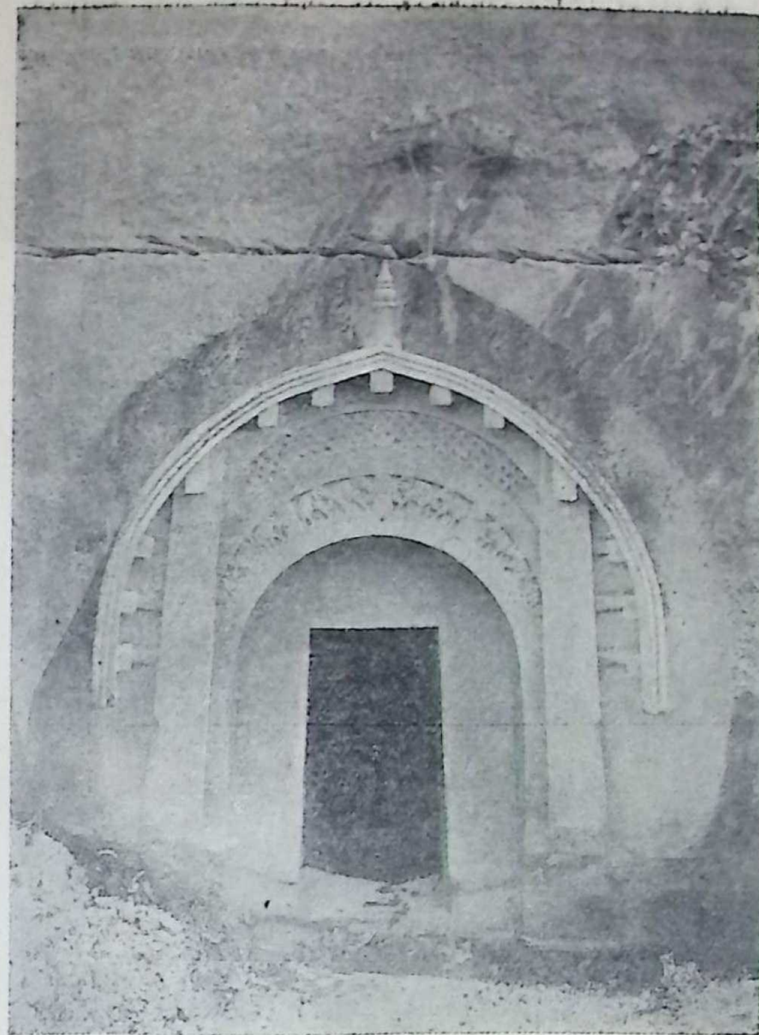
The Varaha Cave (Gupta period), Udaygiri,
near Bhilsa, Gwalior State



The Kailasa Temple, Ellora, Nizam's Dominions;
General View from the left



Verandah of Cave No. I (Saiva Cave) at Badami,
Bijapur Dist. Bombay Presidency



Facade of the Lomas Rishi Cave (Maurya
period) on Barabar Hill. Gaya Dist.



General view of the rear wall of the Main hall in cave No. I, Elephanta near Bombay;
Trimurti in the centre

rock the later is constructed of stone masonry. At Kailasa the sanctum or the main shrine is not on the ground level but at the height of the second story. It follows the general principle laid down by early Chalukyan architects in having a central *mandapa* where the *Chala-murti* or movable-image could be placed. On three sides of the central *mandapa* there are three open porches or *Ardha-mandapas*, the fourth being occupied by the sanctum. In another respect the Kailasa differs from most of the Hindu cave-temples of Northern and Southern India; it possesses a spire of the South-western or Chalukyan type, but of this also we shall have to speak at a later stage. In the Kailasa therefore we see the termination of the evolution of a rock-cut Hindu temple the first stage of which we can see in the Central Hall and the left wing of cave No. I at Elephanta.

From the point of view of the architect mediaeval cave-temples are less interesting than the earlier ones. There are very large Hindu and Jain cave-temples at Ellora and in fact they occupy more than two-thirds or the entire rock-surface but with the exception of the Kailasa very few of them are of

any interest except to the artist. We have seen that the Kailasa is a cave-temple but of quite a different type from cave No. I of Elephanta or caves I-IV at Badami, because it is a copy of the stone built early Chalukyan temples, examples of which are still to be found on the top of Badami fort. The remaining Hindu and Jain temples at Ellora are also copies of stone built temples. There are large and elaborate excavations like the Rameswara or the Dasavatara cave at Ellora and there are large and iconographically important bas-reliefs in them, but a close observation will show that in plan and elevation they are merely copies of regularly built temples. Just as the architect, who designed the Karla or the Kanheri Buddhist cathedrals copied wooden architecture, so the ninth century architects of Ellora copied stone-built temples in designing rock excavations on a large scale like the Dhumar Lena or the Indrasabha. The only part of a Mediaeval temple which one misses is the beginning of the Sikhara or the spire. Except in free standing excavations like the Kailasa or the great Dharmanatha at Dhamnar the Sikhara is omitted from the designs of later mediaeval architects. In Hindu caves as well

as the great Jain caves at Ellora one sees *mandapas* or pillared halls along the sides of which run great stone benches, very often in two different stories, which remind one of the benches in the *mandapas* temples of Khajuraho and Sohagpur in Central India. Another feature of these later mediaeval Hindu and Jain cave-temples is the attempt to decorate the surfaces of facades of these great excavations.

This feature is altogether absent at Elephanta, Badami, Aihole or Mandapesvara. A word about Mandapesvara would not be out of place here. Mandapesvara of Montpezir is the name of a small village in the Thana district of the Bombay Presidency. Originally there was a Saiva cave-temple at this place. After the Portuguese conquest of Salsette this temple was converted into a Roman Catholic shrine. There are magnificent bas-reliefs in the Montpezir caves which prove that a portion of it must be of the same date as the great cave No. I of Elephanta and cave Nos. II and IV of Badami. Unfortunately the village *Cure* used this cave as his stable and therefore photographs were not possible, but the descriptions of other visitors prove that Mandapesvara was an important Hindu establishment before its forced conversion to the Roman Catholic faith. Very few visitors to Bombay, who undergo enormous trouble to visit the Kanheri caves from Borivli on the B. B. C. I. Ry., even know that there are wonderful rock carvings at Montpezir and those that actually go to the place are diverted by the guides to the hideous whitewashed Portuguese monstrosities on the hill just above the old cave.

At another place close to Bombay there is another mediaeval Hindu cave-temple which proves that later mediaeval architects copied constructed temples in designing rock excavations. This is the big cave at Jogesvari near Andheri on the B. B. C. I. Ry. In it we see the mediaeval temple shorn of all its dignity and a mere copy of a stone built temple with a *Mandapa* and *Ardha-mandapas*. There are no bas-reliefs, no ornamentations and no attempt to relieve the dull monotony of the exteriors of mediaeval shrines. Here one may imagine that he is inside the temple of Gondesvara at Sinnar in the Nasik district or the Western Chalukyan temples at Gadag or Haralhalli in the Dharwar district. In such temples exterior ornamentations are possible only in the facade but in this cave the

triple storied facade is dull and undecorated. The plain surface of the left wing as well as the front is very slightly relieved by the introduction of plain pillars and pilasters. These are not the only instance of undecorated hideous exteriors. The Jain caves of Western India, later in date than the latest Jain cave at Ellora are typical examples of copies of stone-built temples. These Jain caves extend from the Satpuras to the Anaimalai hills in the extreme South, and all of them belong to the Digambara sect of the Jainas. The twelfth and thirteenth century caves on Maungya and Tungiya peaks in the North Western part of the Nasik district serve as typical examples. My attention was drawn to the Maungya Tungiya caves by Mr. A. H. A. Simcox, I. C. S., (retd.), at one time Collector of Nasik, immediately after the Malegaon riots. These two peaks are very close to the hill forts of Sulher and Mulher now belonging to the Baroda State and celebrated in Maratha history. The caves were excavated near the top of these two peaks and are almost inaccessible. The nearest Railway stations are Manmad on the G. I. P. and Nandurbar on the B. B. C. I. Ry. All of those caves are simple square excavations on the hill side. There are no pillared halls and *mandapas*, no attempts at decoration or dignity. There are images of Tirthankaras on the walls but nobody would venture to call them objects of art. Yet the Jain pilgrim marches along the long road from Manmad to Satana and climbs the dangerous steps for nearly 2000 feet to see these caves. All Jain caves in the Belgaum, Dharwar, North Kanara, Hassan and Bellary districts are of this severe and unpretentious type, which differ from cave No. V or the Jain cave at Badami by being most conspicuously hideous and without any settled plan or design. In fact the best Jain caves in the whole of Western India are those at Badami and Ellora.

We can deduce a principle on the basis of which our later mediaeval Hindu temples were evolved. The oldest Hindu cave temples are those at Elephanta and Badami. In Northern India the Chandragupta cave and the great Varaha cave near Bhilsa in the dominions of the Maharaja Scindia of Gwalior must also be included in this group. Analysis proves that there are two divisions among these cave-temples. In the first division must be placed the central hall of cave No. I at Elephanta and its left wing.



Cave-temple of Virasena of Pataliputra, minister of the Emperor Chandragupta II at Udaygiri near Bhilsa, Gwalior State

The remainder, e. g. caves I-IV at Badami caves II-VI at Elephanta, the caves at Mandapessvara or Montpezir, and most of the Hindu rock-cut temples at or near Bhilsa must be placed in the second division. The characteristic, common to both groups, is the decoration of the interiors by means of bas-reliefs and the absence of surface or facade decoration. Cave No. I at Elephanta and its left wing are slightly earlier in date than the right wing at the same place and caves II-VI. In this cave and in its left wing we see the provision of a path for circum-ambulation round the sanctum. In the main cave the indetermination of the architect is proved by the irregular position of the sanctum. The same architect or his successor remedied the defect in the left wing where the great bas-reliefs are given comparatively inconspicuous positions. In the second group of Hindu cave-temples the architect gets over the difficulty of providing a path of circum-ambulation by designing a verandah in front with an open but much larger pillared hall behind it for circum-ambulation around a moveable image to be placed on a slight eminence in the

centre of the hall. He provided for the non-moveable image (*Achala-sthapana*) by excavating a small dark plain cell behind the pillared hall. The architect thus obtained full scope for the display of the decorative motifs and the great bas-reliefs in this fashion at Badami, Aihole and Udayagiri near Bhilsa. But this design was rejected by Rastrakuta architects towards the close of the eighth century. They kept the bas-reliefs and the double path of circum-ambulation, but introduced a copy of a structurally built temple by imitating the spire. The pillared hall is not decorated with great bas-reliefs, which are placed around the base of the sanctum on the ground floor or at a distance, in the rock surfaces of the galleries. Art is still in the forefront and there exists, perhaps except for the great Trimurti at Elephanta, no finer *chef d'oeuvre* than the *Ravananugraha* bas-relief of Kailasa, in which the depiction of terror on the face of Parvati, the benign indifference of Siva and the Herculean toil of Ravana betrays the work of a great master and makes the total effect unsurpassed in the history of Indian sculpture. The bas-reliefs continue

to be used for decorative purposes in later Rastrakuta specimens of Hindu cave-temples but the sense of propriety in display seems to have become gradually blunted in the

architects as they receded in date from the model of the Kailasa.*

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INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS IN CONTEMPORARY EUROPE

BY PROF. SAIENDRANATH DHAR, M. A.

SOVEREIGN states, in their relations with one another, are not dependent on any code of laws and do not necessarily bind themselves by ethical or moral rules. International relations, therefore, very seldom present themselves as a uniform, consistent and coherent march of events, and thus do not admit of easy and methodical treatment by the political annalist. States, however, like organic lives, have a few simple cardinal instincts, and it is possible to interpret their whole history as a development of the imperative necessities of self-preservation, self-perpetuation and self-aggrandisement, which are the motive forces of evolution. On the other hand, as man is a compound of both body and mind, so states have sometimes attempted to transcend their natural and traditional limitations and guide their conduct in the interests of international welfare and cosmopolitan brotherhood. As yet, however, internationalism and cosmopolitanism have but little influence on the course of human history and the elemental and primitive forces have their full sway.

The first imperious necessity is existence, which involves defence against actual and potential enemies by all means possible, doing too much rather than too little. "Safety first" is a recognised principle in international politics, on which the last word has not yet been said after the greatest war in history. The bloody record of national and racial self-consciousness reflects the instinct for self-preservation. The other two instincts, viz., self-perpetuation and self-aggrandisement have their full play in human history and have produced generals and warriors, armies and slaves, empires and protectorates, civilisations and wars. In our study of the European history of the last few years, we

shall examine numerous illustrations of these processes. In many cases these imperative needs and requirements have been frankly proclaimed and have been clearly and broadly set forth; in many more cases, however, they have been confused with each other and have been sought to be hidden under a cloud of pious impulses, shibboleths and idealism. The last great war, for example, arose in a frank spirit of economic imperialism. German violation of Belgian neutrality enabled England to claim that she entered the war for the preservation of the sanctity of international obligations and the rights of minor nations. America entered the war for the principle of self-determination and the war finally ended, on the dissolution of the empires of Russia, Austria, and Germany, on the note of making the world safe for democracy. Even within the last few years enough has happened to enable us to test the genuineness of these pretensions.

The active principles of international politics are those that reflect man's desire to better himself, to add to his possessions, to develop his personality. All this the West has sought to achieve by methods which involve the use of force; hence, the history of European progress has been full of wars. I do not say that in this respect there is any practical distinction between the East and the West; but the East has at least cherished the ideal of progress through service and self-effacement, which the West derides too hastily as synonymous with passivity and weakness. The history of modern Europe, says Lord Acton, is the development of revolution. Scarcely any modern state but has a long record of war and revolution. The Middle Ages practised private war. Economic war has existed for

centuries, definitely, it is believed, since the Peace of Westphalia (1648). Social war, with class arrayed against class, poverty against wealth, inferiority against privilege, was known to Greece and Rome, and to Europe in the Middle Ages, besides the recent examples of the French Revolution and the Russian Revolution. Religious war is a category of its own and one of the most horrible pages in history.

The capitalistic organisation of the social system of Europe, like its political counterpart, is based on force and is the manifestation of the human instincts of self-aggrandisement and domination, which are the motive forces of human history. The constant struggle for control of markets and trade, the occasional collisions of rival nations competing for raw materials are but the political corollaries of the capitalistic organisation of the nations of Europe. The great phenomenon of modern history, viz, the expansion of Europe, whereby the nations of the West are spreading their economic and political grip over the world is but the logical outcome of the Industrial Revolution which is but the expansion with the aid of science and human ingenuity of the primitive systems of production and distribution. The allied interventions in Russia after the last great war, the Japanese warfare in Siberia in 1918-22, the struggles of 1926 for the mining resources of the Riff, the oil of Mosul, the cotton of Syria, the trade and concessions of China, and many other struggles which are happening before our own eyes simply bear witness to the fact that the cardinal needs of man are the main springs of his political actions and are the governing forces in international relations though these may be clothed in suitable diplomatic language and represented as noble idealisms, such as "the white man's burden", "the sacred trusts of civilisation" etc.

The foreign policies of the leading states of Europe bear upon them the stamp of the economic and material needs of their peoples, and the influence of the needs of various nations upon one another. The foreign policy of Great Britain, for example, is governed by the following simple propositions: (1) that she is an island, (2) that she is a highly industrialised nation constantly in need of markets, (3) that there is only six weeks food for the people in the British Isles, and (4) that she has to depend upon foreign and overseas markets not only for

the food she eats but in many cases for raw material. The paramount interests of her trade are secured by the acquisition of strategic positions, such as Gibraltar, Bermuda, Singapore, etc., and the ever-vigilant policy of the British Foreign Office.

France, which unlike Great Britain, is a peninsula bulging out from the mainland of Europe and is nearly a self-contained economic unit has not had the same urgency as also the same opportunity for colonial and maritime expansion, though her position on the Mediterranean has enabled her to dominate Northern Africa and Syria, and her navy was not an inconsiderable enemy of England's in the eighteenth century. Her strategic position on land has given her more than once the hegemony of Western and Central Europe. Possessing, however, a stable population of forty millions and faced by Germany's constantly growing population of over sixty millions, her foreign policy is dominated by the note of security. Her victory in the last great war has not dissipated any of her fears on the subject.

Standing almost midway in the Mediterranean with her toe thrust insistently towards the east of North Africa, Italy has a vital interest in the Mediterranean. That interest was imperilled whilst for various reasons Italy was impotent to safeguard it, during the years which followed the Franco-German war. It was with ill-concealed anger that she saw the French occupation of Tunis and the creation of a strong naval base at Bizerta, an enterprise carefully fostered by Bismarck in order to detach Italy from France, which had won her unity—at a price—on the fields of Magneta and Solferino. Bismarck's policy was crowned with success when Italy, not out of any love of Germany and Austria but out of hostility against France, joined the Triple Alliance. That hostility was gradually diminished by the pacific policy of the French statesman Declasse; and Italy's acquisition of a foothold on the North African littoral by the seizure of Tripoli was regarded as a compensation for the loss of Tunis. This improved situation explains Italy's joining the Allies during the last great war. The emergence of a Mussolini and a fiery Fascism has, however, once more altered the situation. Italy is determined to have her place in the Mediterranean. The place she demands is, however, inconsistent with the vital interests of France. Hence the strained relations

between Italy and France, which constitute the gravest menace to peace at the present day.

Russia under the Bolshevik regime, is a standing danger to world peace. She has not given up any of the lines of aggressive foreign policy pursued by the Czars, viz. mastery of the Baltic coast, dominance of the Balkans, peaceful penetration of Mongolia, a cautious policy in Manchuria and Persia, intrigue in Afghanistan, and the threat of an invasion of India. She cannot have forgotten the policy of the Czars: Trotsky * said,

"The question of Constantinople and the Straits was one of those rare questions on which the Czarist regime was not deceived".

Her recovery of the ground lost at Brest Litovsk is only a question of time. Her armed doctrine of proletarchy, furthermore, is a standing challenge to the capitalistic powers of the world. The Bolshevik leaders are believed to be actively pushing forward their scheme of a world revolution. The methods adopted by them are two-fold. †

The first is the steady infiltration into all the workers' organisations of the world, with the object of capturing them and re-organising them along revolutionary lines. This is called the 'cell system' and the process is called 'boring from within'. A cell is a small group of Communist comrades which enters any labour unit which would tolerate them. Their duty is to gain converts for their ideas. In times of crisis these cells find fertile ground for their propaganda, and with 'gold from Moscow' have some times been able to create much trouble. They are believed to be pursuing this 'slow and heavy' method to the bitter end with the conviction that one day the sum of their exerted pressure will bring about a World Revolution, in which they cannot fail to share. The second method of the Bolsheviks may be termed 'direct action'. This is to foster political revolts in every country and against every government and to try to link them up with one another in order to produce one great World Revolution. Zinoviev said, §

"The revolutionary movement in the Orient is a mighty river, which is ploughing its way through every obstruction. This is China, Japan, India. We have already scored some successes in China, and Canton reminds one very much of Moscow. Other important centres will probably follow".

The remaining states of Europe may be grouped* under two classes, the war-guilty states, such as Germany, Austria, Hungary, and Bulgaria, and the peace-guilty states, such as Poland, Czecho-Slovakia, Yugo-Slavia, Greece, etc. The political status of the former group of states was dictated by the 'victorious' allies in the treaties of Versailles, Trianon, St. Germain, and Neuilles. Germany has had to submit to staggering reparations and the loss of rich territories. She has been deprived of Alsace and Lorraine, and the Rhineland at the behest of France. She has actually been robbed of Upper Silesia. The Poles have secured a corridor to Danzig running through East Prussia, the heart of Protestant Germany. On the top of this have come the loss of her colonies, her navy and merchant marine, her air force, and the reduction of her army to a mere skeleton. Her humiliation is indeed without parallel in history. Similar punishments have been meted out to the other vanquished nations.

The peace-guilty states are those who have made large acquisitions of territory by the treaties of 1918-19-20, and, conscious of the harm they have done to their neighbours, betray their uneasy sense in an apprehensive belligerency. Latvia, Lithuania, Esthonia and Finland feel bound to fear Russia. Poland, which is the most guilty of the peace-guilty states, is afraid of all her neighbours. The price she has to pay is the military dictatorship of Pilsudski and the conclusion of military pacts, such as those she has made with France and Roumania.

Czecho-Slovakia, which was created bodily out of the Austro-Hungarian empire, is consequently in league with the other despoilers of the Central Powers. She has organised a Little Entente with Yugo-Slavia and Roumania, which is affiliated with France by a number of military engagements. Roumania faces a bad conscience on three fronts. After the war with Austro-Hungary she siezed the Austrian Crownland in Bukowina, which had been Hungarian for centuries. On the south-west she faces Bulgaria, whom her treachery in 1913 despoiled of the Dobrudja. In 1919 she seized Bessarabia from Russia. She is linked to the Little Entente against Hungary, but has only been able to secure a Polish alliance against Russia, her most deeply wronged enemy.

* Quoted in John Carter. *Man in War*. P. 127

† *Ibid.* P. 125

§ *Ibid.* P. 126.

* See John Carter; *Man in War*, P. 299.

Yugo-Slavia ranks with Poland in war-guilt. As the official Fascist Gazette* pointed out.

"Yugo-Slavia is suffering from territorial elephantiasis, for she includes within her borders Serbs, Croats, Slovenes, Germans, Hungarians, Rumanians, Bulgarians, Italians, Albanians, Montenegrins, and Gipsies...Yugo-Slavia is only an Austria of the Hapsburg era."

She has standing quarrels with Bulgaria over Macedonia, with Greece over the port of Salonica, with Italy over the Fiume, with Albania over the Drina valley, and with Hungary over the Banat, which she has divided with Roumania. In firm alliance with Czecho-Slovakia and Roumania against Hungary, she is also united to France against Italy. She has an army of fine fighting qualities, the remnants of the Austro-Hungarian navy, and, according to the latest reports, is pushing forward strategic and commercial railways to the Adriatic.

From the fore-going account of the political relations of the principal states of Europe it would appear that the last war has left national animosities and national ambitions much as they were before and has even brought in new complications. Indeed, there is more talk of war and rumour of war now than at any time since the Armistice. In an Anti-War Conference held in London last year, Signor Nitti, Ex-Prime Minister of Italy observed that in spite of the disarmament of the four defeated countries of Germany, Hungary, Austria and Bulgaria, there is actually a million more men under arms in Europe now than in 1914 and that Europe is spending exactly the same sum on military armaments as she was doing in 1913, the year in which military preparations reached their maximum. The reason for this deplorable condition, according to him, is the presence of dictators such as Mussolini, who, for their own selfish ends, are rousing the bellicose feelings of their peoples. Even without the much-maligned dictators, however, there is much inflammable material in Europe, as the following narrative will show. The dominant note of French foreign policy after the Great War, as has been previously observed, was security against Germany. The unparalleled national humiliation of Germany and the Allied occupation of the Rhineland did not produce any sense of security in France, who set about encircling Germany

by encouraging the formation of a Little Entente among the other spoilers of the Central Powers, viz., Czecho-Slavia, Yugo-Slavia, and Roumania; and while protesting her inability to pay her debts to Great Britain and to the United States she began to send money to Poland for the purpose of arming the Poles. In the sacred name of security, says Mr. George Glasgow,* she undermined the whole security of Europe. The climax was reached when the French occupied the Ruhr in 1923. In 1924, however, Mr. Macdonald succeeded in bringing France, Germany and England together by launching out the famous Geneva Protocol for the settlement of international disputes. On the fall of his government, however, the Conservative Foreign Secretary lost no time in informing the world that England could not accept the obligations under the Protocol. Western Europe slipped back into a condition of confusion and insecurity, but in 1925 Sir Austen Chamberlain obtained a great triumph at Locarno, where France, England and Germany entered into engagements not to make war upon each other and to respect the inviolability of the frontiers of Germany, France and Belgium. While the Locarno Treaty is a conspicuous milestone in the history of European re-construction, it is to be regretted that no further advance has yet been made in the direction of peace in Europe. Locarno has stabilised Western Europe and tended to the formation of neighbourly relations between France and Germany. It is in a sense better and in another sense worse than Mr. Macdonald's Protocol—better because it is more definite and worse because it has not yet been followed up by other definite engagements, which together with itself would have secured the 'general outlawry of war' which Mr. Macdonald contemplated.

In the mean time the efforts of France to play politics in the Balkans in order to secure her own safety against Germany have landed her in trouble from the side of Italy. I have discussed previously the historical causes of controversy between France and Italy. These have been accentuated in the last few years on account of the clash of their interests in the Balkans. The Italian Government's view of the Balkan problem is a simple one. It is, in the words of a Fascist

* Otto Rothfield : *The Franco-Serbian Pact*.

* George Glasgow : *From Dawes to Locarno*.

newspaper*, that "the way of Balkan and Danubian peace passes and will pass through Rome: whoever tries to ignore this reality will be frequently and profoundly deluded." In other words Signor Mussolini is determined that Italy must in future exercise a dominating influence throughout the whole of the Balkans, and any nation which tries to prevent this consummation is regarded as being actuated by unfriendly feelings towards Italy. France naturally refuses to subscribe to the view that her influence must disappear from the Balkans at the behest of the new will of Rome. The clash of interests which has taken place during the past few years must be counted as one of the principal reasons of the present ill-feeling between the two great latin countries.

There are unmistakable evidences that both France and Italy are using the states of the Balkan peninsula as political pawns in their own games. On November 14, 1927 Italy obtained a firm foothold over Albania by signing with that small state the Treaty of Tirana, whereby they have guaranteed to each other mutual support and collaboration. This treaty has given the greatest offence to Yugo-Slavia, the one nation in the Balkans who is the most determined opponent of Italian expansion in the peninsula. This heterogeneous kingdom of the Serbs, Croats, Slovenes has many internal dissensions but one powerful factor uniting it, viz. the fear that Italy intends to make the Adriatic a closed Italian sea. The most suitable reply that France could give to the treaty of Tirana was, therefore, to conclude a pact with Yugo-Slavia, which has given grave displeasure to Italy, where demonstrations are reported to have been held protesting against French and Yugo-Slav 'provocations.' It is further reported that Mussolini has made another compact of a more binding nature with Albania.† These events have naturally produced a wide-spread impression that the actual outbreak of hostilities in Southern Europe is only a question of time. War, certainly, is against the vital interests of both France and Italy. After un-paralleled financial crisis both have now seen better days. It is difficult to believe that they are going to throw away the results of years of careful administration by a war, which, when it breaks out, must be on a gigantic scale.

While these arguments on the side of peace are obvious, it is certainly disconcerting to hear from day to day of frontier incidents, which are calculated to bring about a rupture sooner or later. The Fascist press is indulging in a violent campaign against France, which is replying by giving asylum to refugees from Fascist vengeance, even, it is said, would-be assassins of Mussolini.

The pact between Yugo-Slavia and France affects not only Italy but also Hungary, between whom and Yugo-Slavia, as I have already pointed out, there is a standing quarrel. The pact ranks France on the side of the spoilers of Hungary.* It ranks her with Yugo-Slavia against rectification of the frontiers imposed by the Peace treaties. In this respect, the Pact occurs at a particularly ill-chosen moment if public opinion has any value. British opinion, expressed in the House of Lords by public men of the political sanity of Lords Buckmaster, Carson and Newton, is coming round to the view that the Treaty of Trianon has left Hungary in a position that is intolerable and unsustainable. Sooner or later the question might be taken up in right earnest. In this case France would have to set her face against it. This will lead France still further from England and this accentuated divergence might range the two great powers in hostile camps and coalitions, in the same manner as before the war Germany and England stood at the head respectively of the Triple Alliance and the Triple Entente, which dashed themselves to pieces in the Great War.

A conspicuous and, according to many, sinister development † of modern international relations is the gradual rapprochement between Fascist Italy and the Conservative Government in England. On the 29th December 1925 Sir Austen Chamberlain met Signor Mussolini at Rapallo, presumably to secure Italian support in the event of trouble with Turkey over Mosul, which at that time was coming to a head. A fortnight later the question of the Italian debt to Britain was settled on terms which were exceedingly favourable to Italy; and Sir Austen, in a telegram to Signor Volpi the Italian Finance Minister, stated that this settlement would "facilitate the intimate co-operation in the field of politics between the two countries". The Rapallo

* Quoted by the *Times of India*, dated 26-11-27.

† Reuter's Cable published on 26-11-27.

* Otto Rothfield; *The Franco-Serbian Pact*.

† Seymour Cocks: *The War Danger*.

conversations caused much uneasiness in Paris and in the following month (February) a Treaty of Mutual Assistance in case of War was concluded between France and Turkey. While the mis-understanding between France and Italy over Albania, Tangier, Morocco, etc., went on multiplying Sir Austen again met Signor Mussolini at Leghorn on Sept. 30, 1926, when they confirmed the intimacy of Anglo-Italian relations. The next significant event was the appearance of Mr. Winstone Churchill in the Mediterranean. After visiting Malta and Athens, Mr. Churchill came to Rome and had many interviews with Mussolini. All that he heard and saw in Italy perfectly enamoured him of Fascism and in his enthusiasm he is reported to have said, "If I had been an Italian I should have been whole-heartedly with you." No doubt he immensely increased the popularity of his government with the ruling classes in Italy.

The rapprochement between the British and Italian governments has unfortunately synchronised with the initiation by England of a new policy towards Russia. Liberal and labour leaders in England are desirous of promoting better understanding between the two countries, and Mr. Macdonald's government drafted two treaties with Soviet Russia in 1924. The Labour premier was fully alive to the situation caused by Russia's anti-British propaganda, and he was closely pursuing the subject, when his government fell, and the Conservatives came into office. His policy was at once reversed and the two draft treaties were not ratified. The belief is strong on the continent that Sir Austen's policy of intimate co-operation with the Italian government is actuated by hostility towards Russia, against which, it is said, the Conservative Government is organising a huge coalition consisting of Italy, the Baltic States, Poland and Roumania. This is forcibly expressed by a Roumanian newspaper, viz, the *Argos* of Bucharest, from which the following quotation was made in the *Manchester Guardian* on the 11th March, 1927 :—

"British policy with regard to Russia, is now directed towards strengthening the position of the Border States, particularly Poland and Roumania, with the co-operation of Italy, which presupposes that Britain is prepared to support Italian ambitions in the Mediterranean and the Near East".

If there is any truth in this belief about Sir Austen's foreign policy there is real cause for alarm. If the Franco-Italian pro-

blem is linked up with the Anglo-Russian, there is evidently the possibility of a great war. Many people firmly believe that a big war is soon coming, specially in view of the fact that all practical proposals on the subject of disarmament have failed. A closer analysis of the European situation, however, dispels any such fear. France and Italy will not soon come to blows. Reuter sent a message (which was published on the 11th December, 1927) that the two governments are shortly appointing commissioners who are to examine all problems which stand in the way of a cordial understanding between the two countries. Again, the policy of boycotting Russia is certain to be reversed sooner or later. It is against the economic interests of the British people: hence it cannot stand for long. Mr. Ramsay Macdonald believes that the British public is coming round to this view. "The conviction," says he, "has come slowly but surely, that the more recent policy of Great Britain to Russia has contributed to our industrial distress, has lost us profitable trade, and has been no insignificant factor in the mischief which the Third International is doing in the world." The ex-premier believes that Russia in Revolution is ceasing to exist, that her hands are too full with her own internal questions to permit her to play a dangerous game in international politics, and that her participation in the Disarmament Conference in Geneva shows that Russia herself is prepared to revise her policy. It is difficult to say how far these arguments weigh with the present Government in England: the King's Speech and the Foreign Secretary's own statement on Foreign Policy are ominously silent on Russia. But there is no doubt that the present situation cannot last long for the further reason that Disarmament in Europe is impossible without Russia, and Disarmament is the most vital need of Europe.

The problem of disarmament, which is associated with two other problems, viz, those of arbitration and security, has presented numerous difficulties and no satisfactory solution has yet been reached. The famous Washington Conference of 1909 resulted in an agreement being reached between England, America, and Japan as regards their battle-ship strength; but the Geneva Conference which was held last year resulted in a fiasco when America proposed that the Washington naval ratio should be applied to cruisers also.

England refused to accept this limitation of her cruiser strength, because she said she needed a large cruiser service to patrol the empire's far-flung lines of communication. Since then, Americans and Englishmen are blaming each other for the failure. It has also enabled the Big Navy Group to raise the cry of "America in Danger" and it is partly responsible for the huge naval estimates submitted for approval of Congress. It is however fortunate that America has cut short her original estimates and that England has refused to enter into a race of naval armaments with America.

On the subject of the reduction of military armaments there seem to be two schools of thought in Europe. The first would have disarmament by an open and full use of the League of Nations. Their idea is to declare aggressive war as an international offence, the same to be defined as the refusal to submit one's dispute to arbitration by the League of Nations. In case of any nations or nations trying to do so, other nations are to use all means in their power, including in the last instance also war, to bring the offenders to book. This was the idea behind Mr. Macdonald's famous Geneva Protocol for the settlement of international disputes. Its fate was sealed by the refusal of the Conservative government to accept it, though it found support from France and some small nations. The other school would have security by particularising causes of dispute and have regional understandings and bi-

lateral agreements on arbitration and security. Sir Austen is strongly in favour of this method. His objections to the Protocol are that it would make Great Britain the unpaid police force in Europe. He says that those states which fail to find security within the framework of the Covenant should conclude security pacts with other states in the same geographical area. His first (perhaps the only) triumph was secured at Locarno where a Treaty of Mutual Guarantee was drawn up between Germany, France, Belgium, Great Britain and Italy, and Arbitration treaties were concluded between (1) Germany and Poland, (2) Germany and France, (3) Germany and Belgium, and (4) Germany and Czecho-Slovakia. This great Treaty is spoken of as introducing a new epoch in the international relations of Western Europe, but it is regretted that it has not been followed up by other engagements of equal value and import. Nevertheless, it seems Europe is showing signs of stabilisation; and if Russia's participation last year in the Disarmament Conference at Geneva really means, as many people hope, that she is coming back to Europe, it may actually be that we are on the threshold of a new era in Europe. In this new era certainly, disarmament should be a feature. On the note of Hope and Expectancy, then, one can now bring this review of European politics to an end. (27-2-1228).

(Read at a meeting of the Graduates' Association, Indore)

THE FOSTER-MOTHER

BY SITA DEVI

BINODINI had lived in Rangoon for about three or four years. But her face expressed anything but regret, when she heard from her husband, that perhaps they would have to leave it for good.

"Don't you feel sorry at all?" asked her husband Nripesh. "You have lived here a pretty long time."

Binodini frowned as she replied, "Not a bit. What is there to feel sorry for?" After a while, she added, "The only thing that

troubles me is anxiety for Khoka (baby boy)."

"Why trouble about Khoka?", asked her husband, "he is going with you."

"He is", his wife said, "but his 'Amma is not. If she is not with him, he will neither eat nor sleep. He will pester me to death within two days. He is old enough, too, to have a memory and won't easily forget. No other servant would do for him."

Khoka was the only child of Nripesh and

Binodini. He was fortunate enough to possess a personal attendant, viz., an Ayah. Everybody in the house called her Ayah, but Khoka for reasons known only to himself, called her 'Amma' (mother). The Ayah hailed from Madras, was about forty years of age, of a very dark complexion, and possessed of a very hot temper. She must have possessed some sort of a name among her relatives and friends, but none in this house knew of it. She was just Ayah and Amma here. She came at the time when Khoka came and all knew that she had come to stay. She knew it, too.

But trouble arose with this question of leaving Burma. The Ayah won't leave the land of her adoption and Khoka won't leave the Ayah. What was to be done?

"Nothing can be done", said Nripesh to his wife. "Be prepared to listen to his howls for a few days at least. She might love him like her own child, but she won't be willing to leave her land, her friends and relatives for his sake."

"But what's the harm in asking her?" Binodini asked. "We are not compelling her to go. After all, she is a woman, and women are accustomed to leave everything—home, friends and relatives, for the sake of love."

"Very well", said Nripesh, "do as you please."

Just at this moment Khoka came back from his morning walk, with his Ayah. Binodini hesitated a bit, then laid her proposal before the Ayah.

The woman remained silent for a few minutes. Probably she was weighing the pros and cons in her mind. Then a sigh escaped her. "I will go, madam", she said.

Binodini was astonished. She had never thought that the Ayah would agree and agree so quickly. "I shall increase your pay", she said.

"I don't want it, madam", the woman answered. "Give me twenty rupees, as usual. I am not going for the money." Saying this she took up her small charge, and started out for a walk again. Binodini did not prevent her, though the sun was quite hot. A great load seemed to be off her mind, now that the Ayah had consented to go. Her boy was too turbulent to be managed by any other person. During the day time, his mother could suffer him somehow, but at night he was insufferable, because he did not believe in letting anybody rest. Some nights, he would go on shouting for eight or

ten hours with undiminished vigour. Neither scolding nor spanking could stop him. He insisted on being carried about. He failed to understand, that night was scarcely the proper time for such exercise. Nripesh lost his temper completely one night, and gave him a hearty slap on the cheek. Needless to say, it did not have the desired effect, but quite the contrary. Binodini's up-braidings, mixed with the howls of her offspring, finished whatever hope he had of getting any sleep.

Morning came, and Nripesh found to his dismay, that there were much more in store for him. The nocturnal lectures of his wife were barely the preliminary. When the Ayah heard, on her arrival, that Khoka had been beaten at night for howling, she forgot time, place and person and began to give her opinion of such conduct. In this line, even Rangoon possessed no rival to Khoka's Amma. So Nripesh swallowed his morning cup of tea in a hurry and went out, while Binodini devoted her entire attention to a piece of long-forgotten embroidery. Only the cook, Haranath, turned up his nose and made some remarks about spoiling servants with too much indulgence.

That evening, as usual, Binodini hurried Haranath to get dinner ready for Khoka and herself. The Ayah used to leave at half past seven in the evening and Binodini had to finish her dinner before that; otherwise she had to go without it, owing to the pranks of her son. Khoka was given his dinner by the Ayah, then she took him away to put him to bed.

The Ayah would leave as soon as the boy fell asleep. But this evening, Binodini found her still in the house, as she came in, after finishing her dinner. She was sleeping on a torn mat, by the side of Khoka's cot. Binodini was astonished and, after standing silent for a few minutes, she shook the Ayah up. "Won't you go home?" she asked.

The woman yawned and sat up. She was going to stay on, she said. She would not let Khoka be beaten for crying at night. Let master and madam sleep, she would carry the child about. If madam would kindly give her four pice, she would buy some bread for supper.

Binodini was so overjoyed at the prospect of a peaceful night, that she gave the woman four annas instead of the four pice, she asked for.

This arrangement became permanent.

Nripesh and Binodini were dismissed from the service of their young hopeful at night. The Ayah took their place. She would walk about the greater part of the night, with the boy in her arms, but she did not seem at all exhausted at the break of day. She would work as hard as ever. Binodini felt a bit ashamed about it, and proposed an increase in wages. But the Ayah refused. She was alone in the world, she said. What would she do with more money?

Thus a few months passed by, then came this plan of leaving Burma. Even this failed to make the Ayah give up. Binodini was really surprised and ran to Nripesh with the news as soon he came in. "Look here," she said, "Khoka is right in calling her Amma. She must have been his own mother in some previous birth, otherwise she would never make such a sacrifice for him."

Nripesh diverted the conversation into another channel, with a timely joke.

The day fixed for their departure soon arrived. Binodini finished her packing with great difficulty. The pile of luggage was a sight! The Ayah did not take long to pack, as her luggage consisted of a single basket. She walked about the lane furiously with Khoka in her arms. She had a life-long acquaintance with this soil. She was leaving it now, perhaps for ever. God alone knew whether she would ever return.

When actually in the steamer she became extremely uncomfortable. This was her first voyage. She became sea-sick almost at once. But Khoka was a hard taskmaster. He howled as usual to be carried about. His mother tried to soothe him and bribed him profusely with oranges, biscuits and sweets, but Khoka refused to be quiet. Then Nripesh came and pulled the boy by the arm. This cured the Ayah. She sat up and, taking the child from his father, staggered away to the deck with him.

The three days in the steamer passed by in this fashion. Landing in Calcutta, Binodini sighed with relief. Nripesh, too, looked forward to meeting his old friends and relatives. Only Khoka and his Ayah remained with clouded faces.

But one gets accustomed to every condition in life. Gradually the streets and lanes became familiar, she got acquainted with the shopmen and could tell you where they sold cheap and where they sold dear. The neighbours, too, became friendly, though she could not speak Bengali, and understood it

but little. She had accepted her fate. There was not going to be any more trouble on her account.

But trouble was brewing in another quarter, behind the curtain which separates things seen from things unseen. Fate was preparing to strike a blow. Suddenly, an illness of a few days carried off Binodini, leaving her well-ordered home devastated and her husband and child desolate. Nripesh got such a shock that for a week or two, he could not even look at the face of the world.

He was in business. The loss of his dearly beloved wife made him neglect it too much. The consequence was that it was ruined, leaving him in debt up to his neck.

But however heart-broken a man might be, he has to go out in search of food. If he is alone in the world, he gets leave to mourn, for a few days. But one, who has got other mouths to fill, does not get even that much consolation. So Nripesh did not get leave to weep for his wife. He had to go out in search of work, because he had a son. Jobs are not to be had for the asking in Calcutta, and only candidates know how hard it is to secure one. But Dame Fate had got tired of Nripesh for a moment after having shown such a good deal of attention to him. So he found a job of a kind. It was none too good, but good enough for him in his present position. He left his old house and rented a small one in a dark dingy lane of the metropolis.

Then trouble began about the servants. It was impossible to keep both now. He could not afford such a luxury on his present salary. But one servant could hardly do the work of both. Even when his wife was living, they needed two servants. So it was out of the question now, to try to do with one. But one must consider one's financial condition, too.

Nripesh decided to send the cook Haranath away. The Ayah would have to manage the cooking somehow. He knew, she would not be much of a success in that line, at first, but they would have to bear it. But he could not think of sending the Ayah away. She was a woman and she had been brought away from her home and relatives, and so had a special claim on them. Then nobody else could manage the child. His mother had left him and now if the Ayah left, too, it would be a hard job to keep the child from pining away. So Haranath left. Nripesh secured a post for him in a friend's

house and sent him there. The Ayah went to cook, with Khoka in her arms. She used tamarind and pepper with a free hand and served breakfast to Nripesh. But the poor gentleman choked on the first mouthful. He was afraid of hurting the Ayah's feeling, and so tried to go on bravely. But she did not lack in intelligence. She understood, and tears of shame started to her eyes.

Next day, Nripesh went and fetched back Haranath. This time the Ayah left of herself. She knew very well that the Babu could not afford to keep two servants. As she could not manage alone, she went. She fled, leaving Khoka, in the dark. Nripesh asked where she was going. She replied that a fellow-countrywoman of hers lived close by. She would put up with her for a day or two, then she would look for another job.

Nripesh was at his wit's end. He did not know what to do. He could have done without eating, but how to manage his work, with Khoka thrown completely in his hands, and how to find time for eating, bathing and sleeping?

The meals were all right that day, thanks to Haranath, but troubles were in store for him at night. He worked up to twelve, leaving Khoka in the charge of Haranath. The poor man ran about like one demented, with the howling child in his arms. After finishing his work, Nripesh went to sleep. Haranath came and deposited Khoka by his side with a sigh of relief. After shrieking continually for three or four hours, the child had fallen asleep, exhausted. So a faint hope began to glimmer in his father's mind, that perhaps the night might pass off in peace.

But it proved to be completely futile. Khoka was punctual as an alarm clock, and his howls broke the stillness of the night just at the usual time. Haranath deserted his master most treacherously. Nripesh called him again and again, but his sleep was too deep to be disturbed. So he carried about his son in a rage with the whole creation. Khoka would have received the spanking of his life, but the memory of his dead mother, paralysed his father's arm. Khoka was motherless and on the highway to becoming fatherless as well, if he went on at this rate. He wanted to throttle the Ayah in his rage. She need not have made such a show of self-respect. Nobody had asked her to go.

That day, while in the office, he confided his troubles to many of his friends. He was

too anxious to work properly. He wondered what the boy was doing. He had lost much of his faith in Haranath. He knew now that the man would not go much out of his way, in order to take proper care of Khoka.

The friends gave him proper advice. "How long will you continue in this state?" they asked. "Marry a grown-up girl, and she will take care of the child, as well as of you. Servants will never look after children properly." Nripesh felt so disgusted that he could barely answer them civilly.

Returning home, he was presented with a long list of the misdeeds of his son, by Haranath. He could find no solution to this problem. He told Haranath he did not want any dinner, and sat down in his room to think. He could hear plainly Khoka's violent protests against being fed by Haranath. He was kicking the plates and glasses, biting and scratching Haranath, and generally making himself as troublesome as he possibly could.

Nripesh sat down to work, ordering Haranath to put the child to sleep as quickly as possible.

Haranath had no objection. He ran about with Khoka, swang him in his arms, danced him up and down, sung to him in his harsh cracked voice and thus managed to put him to sleep finally. Nripesh looked at his watch and found it was nearly half past nine. He was feeling utterly exhausted for many reasons, and so did not feel like working up to twelve at night. He laid himself down by the sleeping Khoka, hoping to snatch a bit of sleep. That Khoka would not allow a long respite, he knew very well.

But when finally he woke up, the sun was quite high up in the heavens. He was amazed and looked at his watch. It indicated a quarter to nine. He looked beside him, where Khoka had been sleeping. He shouted for his servant and asked him when he came, where the child had gone.

Haranath had entered with a face as clouded as the July sky. With the same expression on his face, he replied, "He has gone out for a walk with his Amma."

Nripesh could hardly believe his ears, "With his Amma?" He asked again, "When did she come?"

"She came back last evening and was hiding in that small room," the servant replied. "I did not see her then. But as Khoka got up, crying, in the night, she came out. She carried him about till five in the morning. Just half an hour ago, she got up

from her sleep and took Khoka out for a walk".

A load seemed to be lifted from Nripesh's mind. He could have done without his meals, but he could not brook the howls of his son day and night. Besides the child was suffering from extreme neglect. He saw that he could not afford to be economical at his son's expense. He must either earn more, or cut down expenses elsewhere.

Haranath had been standing before him up to this. He wanted to know what the master decided. Upon seeing that he kept silent, he muttered, "Then dismiss me, sir."

"Who will cook then?" Nripesh asked.

Haranath cheered up, "Then shall the Ayah go?" he asked.

"Who will look after the boy?" the master asked.

"You said you would not keep two", Haranath said, a bit surprised.

"That's none of your concern," Nripesh said. "Go and attend to your kitchen". Haranath went away, disgusted.

The Ayah came back at this moment, with her little charge. She saluted Nripesh silently, and went in. Nripesh called her back.

The Ayah surmised that there was going to be some discussion about her pay. So before Nripesh could say anything, she began on her own side of the case. She could not live without the child, she said. She had left country and kin for him. So how could she give him up now? She knew that the master was hard up. Very well, she did not want wages. She would be content to work for board and lodging. She would keep an account and take all the money due to her from Khoka, when he grew up and became a judge. Khoka's mother left the child in her care, at the time of her death. So she was determined to stay.

The matter dropped there, for the time being. Nripesh thought that he was at the end of his troubles. Everything went on all right, except for the perpetual warfare between the cook and the Ayah. In a few days Nripesh understood that this thing was not as negligible as it appeared. Haranath was an old servant and the Ayah was a woman who had sacrificed much for him. He did not know whose side to take. So he went on perpetually postponing the settlement of their disputes. The result was not very satisfactory. An open quarrel would have cleared the atmosphere, but

now it went on boiling like subterranean lava and threatened dire happenings. These two became sworn enemies. There was no doubt that they would at once fly at each other's throat, if opportunity occurred.

Suddenly, trouble appeared from another point of the compass. Nripesh had a neighbour of the goldsmith caste. Whatever these people might lack, they did not lack money. Money shrieked aloud from everything they said, did and wore.

One fine morning, a very small child of this house was found riding on a tricycle. The whole neighbourhood looked on agape. The child's small legs could hardly reach the pedals, but somehow it had got into the heads of their relatives that rich peoples' children rode on tricycles. So a tricycle had been procured and a servant was dragging it about, with its small rider, from one end of the lane to the other.

As soon as Khoka saw the thing, he jumped down from Ayah's arms and ran towards it. The Ayah picked him up again, asking, "Where are you going?"

Khoka struggled frantically, saying he would not be carried about, he wanted a tricycle too. The Oriya servant, in charge of the other small boy, grinned from ear to ear at this demand of Khoka. He was immensely pleased at the affluence of his own master and at the poverty of the Ayah's. The Ayah called him every sort of name, she could remember, and, taking Khoka forcibly up, came back home, still shouting vituperations. Haranath poked his head out of the kitchen and asked what the matter was.

In reply, the Ayah made sweeping generalisations about the Oriya people, which had they heard it, would have been far from pleasing to them. Khoka's shrieks of rage continued unabated.

Nripesh came back at this time from his morning walk and told Haranath to hurry with his breakfast: otherwise he would be late for office. Khoka ran to his father and pulled him by the sleeve of his coat. Nripesh passed his hand over his son's curly hair, asking, "What's it Khoka?"

"Will you buy me a tricycle, father?" asked Khoka.

Nripesh could never refuse anything to anybody. He did not know how to do it. So without stopping to think for a moment, he replied at once, "Yes, I shall. But let me go to my office now, or the Sahib will beat me."

But Khoka was too eager to secure the tricycle, and did not let him off so easily. "When will you bring it?", he asked; "in the evening?"

Nripesh had to get rid of him at any cost. "I shall bring it to-morrow morning," he said. This mention of a definite time, satisfied his son, who now left hold of his father and went away.

Nripesh forgot all about it, the minute he left his house, but his son's memory proved to be very much stronger. Next morning, Nripesh got up and found trouble ready for him. Khoka was refusing to wash his face, take his breakfast, or to go out. He had been promised a tricycle, and he was waiting for it.

Nripesh was at his wit's end. How could he purchase anything so costly? It was as much as he could do to make two ends meet. Why was he fool enough to make such a promise? He could have bought it, had he been able to borrow some money. But his friends were not fools. They were ready enough to borrow, but seldom to lend.

But he must pacify the aggrieved motherless child. So he covered one mistake by making another mistake. "Go darling and play," he comforted his son, "I shall bring it certainly to-morrow, I promise you." Khoka was satisfied for the time being and he went to have his milk.

After finishing his office work Nripesh tried everywhere to purchase a tricycle on credit, or on the instalment payment system. But nobody agreed to give him credit. Next he tried to borrow money, but was unsuccessful. Late in the evening he returned home beaten and hopeless, and fell down on his bed, exhausted. The servant tried to persuade him to have dinner, but he refused.

Next morning, he felt too sick at heart, to wish to get up. How was he going to show his face to Khoka? He covered himself up to his head in his blanket, and remained lying on his bed. But Khoka was not to be fooled so easily. He came up and began to try to pull off the blanket, crying, "Get up father, it is late. Won't you bring me my tricycle now?"

Nripesh's heart seemed about to burst. Oh, shame on his life and love! He had not power enough to satisfy his child's smallest demand. What answer could he give his son?

Khoka finally succeeded in pulling off his

blanket. "Where is my tricycle?" he asked. "When are you going to bring it?"

Nripesh pushed away his son in desperation. "Go away", he said; "you are a naughty child. You tease me very much."

Khoka had never been so treated in his small life. He threw himself down on the floor, and began to scream as loud as he could. The Ayah was busy in the next room. Hearing him cry, she rushed in, and picked him up. She looked at Nripesh, intending to give him a piece of her mind, but found that he had covered his face with both hands and tears were trickling from between the fingers.

She went out of the room, carrying Khoka. She brought him a large quantity of sweets, which made him forget his woes for the time being. Then she asked, "Why did you hurt father? You are very naughty."

Khoka was surprised at the charge. He had not hurt father, he replied. On the other hand, his father had pushed him away. The Ayah told him not to pester his father for the tricycle any more and then she would give him a very good present. Father would cry, if he asked for it again. Good children should not make their father cry.

It was too great a sacrifice to ask of Khoka. But he had received a great shock, on seeing his father cry. It had rendered him speechless temporarily. So looking at the Ayah, with sad eyes, he agreed to her terms.

When the Ayah came back with Khoka, she found that Nripesh had neither taken his tea, nor gone out. He was sitting in the same place, like one petrified. She put down the child. He went and stood by his father and said, "Father, take your tea, I won't ask you for the tricycle again."

Nripesh rushed into the next room, to hide his tears. Khoka looked at Ayah, and found her in tears, too. This was too much and he cried out aloud. He could not understand why everybody should cry at the mention of the tricycle. The Ayah quieted him with great difficulty.

After finishing her breakfast, in the afternoon, she put the child to sleep, and prepared to go out. She never spoke to Haranath, if she could avoid it. But to-day she went to him of her own accord and spoke to him very civilly. She was going out on urgent business, she said. Would Haranath kindly look after the child for a bit and give him his milk after he got up? She would be sure to return before four in the evening.

Haranath had not the slightest intention of doing anything for her. But he had to agree, as he did not know how to refuse.

Khoka got up at the usual time, and began to shout when he found that the Ayah was absent. When Haranath went to give him his milk, he kicked the cup of milk out of his hand. Fortunately, the Ayah returned within a few minutes, otherwise things would have gone badly with Khoka and Haranath.

At the sight of the Ayah, Khoka was about to begin his howls again, when he was picked up suddenly and carried to the bedroom. Next moment, he found himself seated on a tricycle, and being dragged from this side of the room to that. Khoka's joy knew no bounds. Haranath rushed in to find out the cause of the sudden silence, and upon finding it, went away, very much dissatisfied. Haranath took money from his master, whereas the Ayah worked without any remuneration, whatever. So Haranath felt himself a bit inferior to the Ayah. Now that the Madrasi woman had got this tricycle, she would go higher up in the master's estimation. But where did she get the money?

As soon as Nripesh returned, Haranath rushed to him with the news. He was surprised and sent for the Ayah at once. When she came, he asked her where she got the money from, to buy the tricycle. The Ayah answered that Khoka's mother had left a certain sum of money with her, at the time of her death. It was to be used for the child, in case of urgent necessity. She had bought the tricycle with that money.

The thing seemed credible enough. Nripesh felt a little hurt at the thought that Binodini had not done justice to him. She could not believe that he would look after the child carefully enough. She need not have left money for her son. That money, too, she had not left with him, but with the Ayah. Was she afraid that he would steal it?

But the next moment he felt ashamed of his thoughts. Had not his treatment of their son justified Binodini's actions? He could not fulfill the slightest wish of the boy. It was because Khoka's mother knew his worthlessness, that she had acted like that.

Khoka was about to give up food and drink at the joy of possessing the tricycle. He would have remained on it day and night, had he been given his own way. Haranath

could run faster, dragging the tricycle. So Khoka wanted him all the time and had no use for the Ayah. In the morning, even before she had got up, Haranath and Khoka were out in the lane with the tricycle. Even the Oriya servant of the other house looked on amazed at their romplings and joyous shouts.

A fierce look came into the woman's eyes. She went down into the lane and called, "Come darling, have your milk."

The child shook its head violently, saying, "Shan't. Don't want milk. Faster, Haranath!"

The Ayah picked him up bodily from the tricycle. Addressing Haranath, she delivered a very sharp speech. Those servants she said, who were most eager for money, were the least eager for doing their work properly. He had not yet lighted the kitchen fire, was the Babu's breakfast going to be cooked on air? Who asked him to take out Khoka? There were other persons to take care of him.

Khoka protested violently against this forcible removal from the tricycle. He bit and kicked the Ayah, and tore out her hair by the handful. But she did not let go. She brought him upstairs and made him take his milk, bread and eggs. As soon as she released him, he ran straight to the kitchen. "Come out, Haranath," he called; "let's run a race again."

Haranath had not courage enough to declare open warfare against the Ayah, though he was ready enough to backbite and slander. He knew very well that he would be no match for her in warfare. He would have to acknowledge defeat within five minutes and an appeal to the master would bring no satisfactory results. So he refused Khoka's invitation very promptly. He went on putting coal in the oven, saying, "No, little master, you go to your Ayah. If I take you out again, she will swallow me up alive. I don't want to butt in. I have enough work of my own."

So Khoka had to return to his Ayah. But her heart seemed to have become paralysed. It did not seem to fill to overflowing with joy, when she clasped Khoka in her arms. The child seemed different somehow. It was not the same Khoka, who preferred Amma even to his own mother. Even such an utter good-for-nothing as Haranath could entice him away. She went on with her daily routine of washing, feeding and putting the child to sleep, but the joy seemed to have gone out of all these. She

passed the afternoon somehow, and towards evening, prepared to take out the child for a walk.

But as soon as she had finished dressing him, he began to cry for the tricycle. The Ayah got fed up and threatened to throw the thing into the river, if he howled for it day and night. If she had known that he would be so naughty, she would not have got it for him.

Khoka struggled out of her arms and ran to Haranath. "Come out, Haranath," he called. "I shall play with you. Amma is wicked, I won't go to her."

Haranath put his head out of the kitchen-door and said, "No darling, go to your Amma. I cannot fight with her all the time for you."

His tone was sarcastic, and it made the Ayah's bones burn with anger. But she was afraid of the child falling down the stairs. So she had to go and pick him up again.

The child held to its purpose. He wanted the tricycle. The Ayah felt inclined to tear her own hair in anger. Why on earth did she go and get the hateful thing? The child was getting estranged from her.

She held out many lovely promises to the child, and for the time being he gave up the project of riding on the tricycle. They were to go by tram to the zoological gardens, the Ayah said, and look at huge tigers and elephants. But when after an hour's walking about, they neither got into a tram nor reached the zoological gardens, Khoka became furious with his Amma. Reaching home, he ran to his father first with this tale of the Ayah's faithlessness, then to Haranath. When she came to give him his milk, he bit with all his might into her hand.

The Ayah was fed up with his temper. So giving him a small slap on the back, she cried out, "You are a most naughty boy. Look, how my hand is bleeding."

As Khoka let out a howl of rage, at this treatment, Haranath ran to him and picked him up. He passed his hand over and over the child's body, saying, "It's true what people say;—'one who shows more affection, than a mother, must be a witch.' As soon as the child's father turns his back, the child gets it all right, though in his father's presence, he is nearly choked with caresses. But who shall tell him? We are mere servants who work for money."

Though the Ayah did not know much Bengali, she could gather the gist of Haranath's harangue. Any other time, this would have led to a miniature civil war. She would have made short work of him. But she had lost heart at the child's faithlessness. So she remained silent, only her eyes glared like those of a tigress, bereft of her cubs.

Next morning, the tricycle had disappeared. Khoka howled loud enough to bring down the skies. Nripesh began to rebuke the servant for leaving the front door open at all times. Haranath went on retorting with innuendoes. There might be thieves inside, he hinted. The Ayah alone remained silent.

After the storm had blown over, the house became unnaturally silent. Nripesh sat down to his work, Haranath went to the bazaar. Khoka cried himself to sleep, leaving half his milk untasted. The Ayah sat silent on the verandah.

Suddenly Haranath rushed in, very much excited, "Sir," he cried, "the tricycle has been traced."

The figure of the woman on the verandah became tense with some feeling. "Where is it?" asked Nripesh.

"There is a shop in the street corner, run by a Madrasi," Haranath said. "They repair and sell old cycles there. The Ayah had taken the cycle there early in the morning. She has told them to sell it."

Nripesh could hardly believe his ears. Why should the Ayah behave like this? She had never misappropriated a penny worth of thing ever since she came to work. As long as she had worked for pay, she had spent most of her earnings on the child. And now that she worked without pay, she took even greater care of the child. Why did she do it? But Haranath would never dare to bring such a charge against her, unless he was positively certain. He had too much respect for his skin. Nripesh did not know what to do.

"Are you quite certain?" he asked Haranath.

"Should I speak if I was not certain?" he replied. "She is not my enemy, that I should bring false charges against her. We have worked together for many years."

Nripesh called the Ayah. She came in and stood waiting. Nripesh asked her whether she had removed the tricycle. She confessed she had done so.

Nripesh found himself in a greater fix

than ever. What was he to do with her? He could not think of handing her over to the police. The amount of money, he owed her, for her services, would have easily fetched half a dozen tricycles. She must have done it because she was in want. Nripesh had never given her anything, even for necessary expenses. He was more to blame, because he had driven her to theft, with his want of consideration. He did not even want to dismiss her, because then there would be nobody to take care of the child. But he must reprimand her, otherwise the other servants would begin to follow her.

But even this was very hard to do. Nobody had ever rebuked her. All seemed to have forgotten that she was a paid servant. She had lived like one of the family. So Nripesh did not know how to begin. After much deliberation, he said, "But never do it again. If you want money, ask me for it."

Haranath had been waiting outside, with his shopping basket in hand, eager to hear the sentence passed on the Ayah. But when he heard it, a burning wave of anger swept over him. Why did not the master offer the hateful woman ten rupees as a reward? Had not she done a very noble deed? He went off muttering to herself.

As soon as Haranath had gone, the Ayah seemed to wake up from a trance. "I shall go, Babu," she said. "I won't work here any more. I shall send back the tricycle."

Leaving Nripesh speechless with perplexity, and never casting a look at Khoka, the woman passed out of the house. When Nripesh sent Haranath after her, to bring her back, she was no longer to be seen.

They looked after the child somehow between them. Nripesh had given up all hopes of going to his office, when the unexpected re-appearance of the tricycle facilitated matters for him. A young Madrasi boy brought it over, but he could give them very little information. He could only say that a woman had placed it with them early in the morning, and had just a while ago asked him to bring it over here. He knew her but very slightly and could not say where she had gone.

The days passed on, one by one. Khoka gave his father no end of trouble, but as

nothing was heard of the Ayah, he had no option but to bear it. Haranath could not cope with all the work, single-handed, so a part-time maid-servant also made her appearance. The work was done no better, but the silence of the house was shattered with interminable quarrels between the two servants.

Nearly a month had gone by. One morning, Nripesh was trying vainly to work with Khoka seated on his lap. Haranath came in and informed him that a man was asking to see him.

Nripesh told him to bring the man inside. A minute later, an old Chinese, followed Haranath into the room. Nripesh stared at the man, in amazement. He wondered what the fellow wanted with him.

Upon being questioned, the man answered in broken English that he had a pawnshop near-by. A woman who gave this address as that of her own, had pawned a gold necklace with him some time ago. But he was being called home, on very urgent business. So he was informing all his clients. If they paid back the money within twenty days he would give up the interest and return them their things. Else he would have to sell up and go away.

Nripesh asked on what date the woman had borrowed money. The Chinese gave the exact date.

Nripesh saw everything clearly now. It was not Khoka's dead mother, but the living foster-mother, who had given up her all to bring a smile to the baby face. He knew the gold necklace. When Binodini was alive, the Ayah would sometimes put it round her white neck, to see how it suited her. She always used to say that she was keeping it for a present to Khoka's bride.

Nripesh dismissed the Chinese, saying that the woman did not work there any longer.

Days passed on again. But the atmosphere of the house grew darker and darker. The fountain of love had dried up. Of the two who were the personification of love in this home, one had been taken away by God. Another disappeared behind the mysterious veil of destiny, and Nripesh never knew anything more about her.

THE NIRVANA STATUE OF BUDDHA

BY THE LATE SATYENDRA MOHUN KUNDA

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THIS colossal statue, of which a photograph is being published for the first time, was discovered by Mr. Carlleyle, in the Nirvana temple at Kasia in the seventies of the last century. Both the temple and the statue were found in a damaged condition. Carlleyle restored the temple, and the Statue was also repaired by him with its fragments found buried within and below the pedestal. It is said in the texts that at the time of the Great Decease, the Buddha had lain upon his right side with his head to the north and legs one upon the other. Accordingly, the image depicts him reclining on his right side, the head resting on a cushion pointing to the north and the face turned to the west.

The right hand is folded and placed under the right cheek, while the left is stretched along the body. The hair is represented in curls and there is the prominent "ushnisa." The body is covered with drapery characterized by folds. In front of the pedestal there are three figures in mourning attitude, one of which, Subhadra, the last convert of Buddha, sits with his back turned towards the visitor. The statue is made of reddish sandstone. It is 20 ft long and 3 ft high. The length of the pedestal is 23 ft 9 in the breadth 5 ft 6 in. the height varying from 1 ft. 3 in. to 2 ft. 6 in. The Buddhists, who now worship in the temple, have painted the sculpture in gold dust and covered it with silken robes which hide

the limbs and the sculptured drapery from view.

Below the central figure of the pedestal there is an inscription which has been deciphered by Dr. Fleet as follows.

(1) Dēyadharmmō = yāni mahāvihārasvaminō Haribalasya.



The Nirvana Statue of Buddha

(2) Pratimā ch = eyani Ghatitā Rēne...
Ma (?) Svarena**

Dr. Vogel supplies "na" for the missing syllable and reads 'mathurena' for 'masvarena'† so that the translation runs as follows.

"This is the gift of Haribala, master of the great Vihara. And this image was fashioned by Dina, an inhabitant of Mathura."

From the characters of the inscription the date of the sculpture has been assigned to the 5th cent. A.D. i.e. to the Gupta period. If Dr. Vogel's reading be accepted, then its sculptor must have hailed from Mathura.

* Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum, Vol III
No. 69. p. 272.

† A.S.I. 1906-07:pp. 49.-50.

At any rate it shows striking resemblance with the Gupta Sculptures of Mathura.

Its massive limbs, heavy lips and chin, full cheeks, spiral curls, folds of drapery rendered in

conventional lines, the symbolic wheel on the sole of the feet, all indicate close affinities with the Mathura School of Sculptures.

AMERICAN IMPERIALISM AND NICARAGUA

BY JEHANGIR J. VAKIL, B.A. (HONS.), OXON.

AMERICA is determined on going one better than England, and when America is determined on something she generally gets it. Two centuries and a half ago she determined to get rid of British domination, and she did it with splendid thoroughness. By the end of the last century she did away with British influence in North and Central America, and to-day her nascent power is challenging British world-dominion. Capitalistic England may boast of her far-flung empire whose raw material she can exploit together with its cheap labour, and where she can dump down her over-production and surplus population, but America too has vast interests at stake in almost every country of the earth to-day and a tremendous surplus capital which she cannot invest at home and must invest somewhere. It is estimated that by 1950 she will have fifty billion dollars invested in foreign parts. She is to-day the banker and creditor of Europe which requires, dreads, resents her financial strength. And not only in Europe is America plunging into the deep waters which breed national hatred and strife, but in Latin America, Nicaragua, Mexico, Haiti.

A glance at the map of Central America will show us why Nicaragua has, in the latter half of the 19th century, been a dangerous field of rivalry between the 'Anglo-Saxon cousins' of the old and the new world. Where the San Juan river and Lake Nicaragua all but span the breadth of the Central American isthmus, is obviously the site of a trans-oceanic canal, a waterway linking up the two great oceans, the Atlantic and the Pacific. Humboldt's famous journey had drawn attention to this obvious fact, but it was Great Britain and not

America who made the first move to enter into possession of it.

Britain first obtained a foothold in Central America as early as 1720 when the semi-civilised and less than semi-dressed chief (subsequently dubbed king by his patrons, the British) of the Mosquito coast—the perpendicular coast-line East and North-East of Nicaragua—was favored with the protection of the British Governor of Jamaica. In order to protect the Mosquito chief, Britishers found it necessary to settle in his territory and exploit its valuable timber until the year 1783, when, under the treaty of Versailles, Britain had to give up all pretensions to the sovereignty of any part of Central America, Belsize excepted. Henceforth, Spain was supreme in Central America, until her yoke was thrown off by her colonies who formed the five states' federation of Central American Republics. But the federation did not last long, carrying as it did, within itself, the seeds of an early dissolution. Civil wars became the order of the day. Britain, seeing her opportunity, encouraged one or other of the contending parties in many cases, by financial aid and sale of arms. Within ten years of its inception the federation was dissolved, and then Britain could do pretty well what it wanted with the separate republics into which it disintegrated. The frontiers of Belsize (re-named British Honduras and declared a crown colony) were arbitrarily extended at the expense of Guatemala and declared a crown colony whose protests were not fit evidently, to be answered even by the flimsiest diplomatic explanations but were just ignored. The island of Ruatan belonging to Honduras was similarly

and without any provocation, occupied by *force majeure*, and no explanation vouchsafed for such cavalierly conduct.

In 1848 we find Britain once more befriending the 'king' of the Mosquito coast, and inducing him to claim possession of San Juan del Norte the port at the eastern terminus of the projected canal, and sent British marines to occupy it. Nicaragua, not being in a position to resist this piece of aggression, turned to America for protection and met with willing response. Indeed, the United States would have stepped in before this to spoil England's little game, had not her attention been diverted away from Nicaragua by the Mexican annexation. Nicaragua was quick to point out to the United States that Britain's object in trying to control the mouth of San Juan River was to make herself the mistress of a future canal across the isthmus. The spring of 1849, in fact, saw a British Company trying to win concessions from the Nicaraguan government for the construction of such a canal. Nicaragua, however, was well on her guard, and the representative of the enterprising British Company had to return home with his mission unfulfilled. An American Company, however, succeeded in winning substantial concessions where the English Company had failed totally, because Americans were shrewd enough not to rouse suspicion by claiming special privileges. On the other hand, they stipulated that the canal should be open equally to all nations that would solemnly affirm their willingness to respect Nicaraguan Sovereignty over the territory through which the canal would pass, and that the equal rights enjoyed by these nations should include rights not given to nations who would give no such undertaking—thus cleverly putting England out of court. She hoped by this treaty, to bind together, ultimately if not in the near future, all nations interested in the canal, against the claims of Great Britain, and so to isolate her in any dispute arising over the canal.

The British representative at Nicaragua, as may easily be imagined, raised a storm over this. Eventually, the situation, becoming too grave for the local representatives to handle, was taken in hand by London and Washington, neither of which were willing to push matters to extremes. Result: a compromise known as the Clayton-Bulwer treaty. This treaty, concluded in 1850, which, for a considerable time played an

important part in matters Caribbean, provided that neither government should claim control over the prospective canal or establish zones of influence in Central America.

We must pass over the events of the next ten years, to record the Dallas-Clarendon treaty between England and America. This compelled the British to 'clarify' their relations with Honduras and Guatemala, and relinquish the claim to 'protect' the Mosquito coast. Nicaragua got Greytown (the name given to San Juan del Norte in 1848) on the understanding that it was to be a free-port. This triumph of American diplomacy was possible partly because of the growing strength of the United States, and partly because England was engaged in the Crimean War and unwilling to risk the development of serious complications in the new world. This brings us down to 1860. American diplomacy had gradually and, as it were, imperceptibly outstripped Britain in the race for Pacific supremacy. The latter country was too far away to check effectually the steady push of American capitalism southwards. But though now decidedly a beaten horse, it still hung on, and if America was to get away and win the race clear, she still had work before her. She wisely forbore, however, to precipitate events knowing that it would pay her more to play a waiting game. So the next twenty years saw a lull in the active rivalry of the 'cousins.' During this period, the Nicaraguans and English carried on their dispute about the Mosquito coast. The Emperor of Austria, who was arbitrating in the dispute decided, at the long last, for a technical Nicaraguan Sovereignty, thus adjudicating the substance to Britain's *protege* who got practically free from Nicaraguan control—which meant of course that Britain could speak with the voice of the savage chief whenever she chose to. This made America sit up, and if anything more was needed to rouse her thoroughly, she got it in the fact that Lesseps, after building the Suez canal, got a concession for a canal across the Isthmus of Panama, which is vital to American interests—as vital as the Suez canal is to England's interests in India, a fact whose fullest significances Egypt has every reason to appreciate. Angry notes flitted to and fro between London and Washington for a period of about twenty years, both sides hotly resenting the claim of the other in the prospective Panama

canal. But America had tried her strength in her own Civil War and was confident in her own power to resist by force of arms any power in a contest in her own neighbourhood. In her own waters—the Pacific—she was as set upon non-interference as Britain in the Suez canal and her persistence gained the victory in time. The situation hung in the balance until the close of the last century, when with the annexations of Hawaii and the Philippines, and the extension of her influence in the Pacific, she was in a position admitting of no serious rivalry, in the two Americas, on the part of any power in the world. Britain had to bow before the logic of facts and by the Hay-Pauncefote treaty of 1900 acknowledged the United States' complete control over and sole right of protection of the prospective canal.

All the world knows how Lesseps failed to construct the Panama canal, and that it was not until a fortnight after the outbreak of the European war that it was opened. No doubt many commercial benefits have come out of it, but the main object of America in building it was the strategic advantage which, it was supposed, would accrue. Since about 1900 America has played havoc with 'the rights of small nations' unfortunate enough to lie in the path of the southward drive of American Empire. Cuba, Haiti Porto Rico, Panama, the Dominican Republic, Nicaragua, have all paid with their independence for the crime of tempting the greed of American capitalists. Referring to United States' dealings in the Caribbean, we find this priceless gem in the editorial of the American Monthly for February 1927: "We must examine the question solely from the point of view of the larger interests (of 'big business'—J. J. V.) of the United States, which are identical with the interests of civilization." Oil and the church are mentioned in this connection, and President Coolidge, speaking about the same time about Nicaragua in particular and the capitalist interests of the United States generally, proclaimed his determination "to take the step that may be necessary for the preservation and protection of the lives, the property and the interests of its (i. e. the United States J. J. V.) citizens." Here we have the usual formula inspired by capitalists who get their government to send troops to silence all opposition to their exploitation, whenever it dares to raise its head. In this connection

it is interesting to note that there are 150 American citizens in Nicaragua. The main consideration, however, that determine American policy in the Caribbean are oil, investments, trade, prestige, and the canal—the prospective Nicaraguan canal even more than the Panama canal. And of these considerations, the canal that may be built in Nicaragua, is not the least important. For, statistics now indicate that the full capacity of the Panama canal will be reached within the next eight or ten years. Another lock could be built for about \$125,000,000, but there are reasons for preferring to construct the new Nicaraguan interoceanic canal. For the naval experts have found that whatever else the Panama canal may be, it does not afford that strategic safety, which was the main reason for its construction. The canal is not broad enough to enable a whole fleet to pass at once; the existing locks are not adequate for battle-ships and battle-cruisers of the prevailing type. Add to that the fact that the locks, the power plant, and the drainage system upon which they depend are not expected to be able to withstand a really well-concerted attack by air, and you have reasons for the construction of a canal in Nicaragua which promises to afford better facilities on all these points, and incidentally you have the reasons why Nicaragua must not be independent and defy the interests of United States capitalists—for they are "identical with the interests of civilization." These interests would require, in Nicaragua, a 'zone,' then the 'guarantees' of sanitation and 'law and order' for the preservation of the zone; and then more territories on either side to fence the zone and safeguard the guarantees—for, as Lord Salisbury said with reference to the expanding north-west frontier of our country; "If you believe the military man, nothing is safe."

Since 1909, three revolutions or civil wars have afflicted this unfortunate country, and for about fifteen years there has been practically a military occupation of it by the United States—all in the name of law and order, and in the interests of civilization, of course. The Bryan-Chamorro treaty destroyed the independence not only of Nicaragua, but of the other Central American republics as well. The Government of the United States is to-day under the thumb of the grandees of Wall Street, who by a system of loans and financial control preceded by military occupation, are strangling the Central

American republics. These have now tasted sufficiently of the bitter fruits of disunion and mutual jealousy, and aspire once more to unite and form a federal republic. They are culturally and racially one unit, and now that they have realised that their economic interests can only be safe-guarded by concerted action against the common foe, they are determined to unite in face of the Bryan-Chamorro treaty and the canal policy of the United States.

The years 1912 and 1914 again saw armed intervention by American marines in the domestic quarrels of Nicaragua. American bankers acquired "by the request of the Nicaraguan government" full control of Nicaraguan finance and credit. The conservatives under Diaz sold themselves to the United States and for twelve years fattened upon the good things that American capitalism allowed them for betraying the interests of their land. Then Moncada, the Liberal leader conceived the novel plan of getting into power by being a more abject tool of the United States than Diaz himself! He openly declared that it was madness to resist the power of the states and that the only sane course was to offer them more than the conservatives did. He was denounced at first as a mad man and a traitor, but he soon converted the liberals who were too weak to keep up the struggle against their conservatives plus Wall Street. For, as the New York World declares with reference to the present American interference which began with the landing of troops in December 1926, the states are "committed to the guarantee of a free and fair election" in Nicaragua! The same paper asserts that "pulling out at the present would make a bad matter worse." The revolution under the liberal leader Sacasa had given the United States an excuse to land troops, and help Diaz, the conservative President. On the other hand, the Calles Government of Mexico sent arms to the liberals—sold them, to be exact—thus incurring the further displeasure of the U. S. Babbitts who had done this kind of thing over and over again, in Central America. Moncada received the arms on behalf of Sacasa but receiving information that President Coolidge would send troops to impose peace in Nicaragua, as soon as the American Congress adjourned, he made ready to betray the cause. At this point, Sandino, the great Nicaraguan hero-patriot, a young man in his thirties, steps in upon

the stage, and a few words about him will not be out of place as it will enable the reader to appreciate the part which is, at the present moment, being played by him.

Sandino is the son of a farmer, an important man in the little central-western Nicaraguan village which is Sandino's birth-place. He received the primary education prevalent there and early became a produce-merchant in which capacity he gained a real knowledge of the life of his country which is agricultural. He prospered and soon was able to buy a small farm, out of which he could have made more money had his ambition not been to make it a model one in his country. It did become that, but with the United States taking over the financial control of Nicaragua in 1912, Sandino was ruined along with many another farmer like him. He left his native village and went to northern Nicaragua to work in the mines. His personality soon won for him a wonderful influence over the working-man, and drew the attention of Moncada who thought it would be a good plan to attach this young man to himself. He got up a merry-making party for the special benefit of Sandino and there had a beautiful young vergin brought in. He said to Sandino that he had intended to take this girl himself but as he was his friend and would be his lieutenant he would give her up to him. The poor girl stood there in fear and trembling. Sandino jumped up and said, "This girl is Nicaragua. No man shall take her or give her to another." This said, he lifted the girl on to his saddle and rode out with her into the night. At dawn he arrived at the convent in which he wanted to place her so as to be out of harm's way. She is now a Sister of Mercy ministering to the Philipinos. From that day, Augusto Sandino was a name to conjure with, in Nicaragua. "This girl is Nicaragua"—with these words he branded upon the hearts of his people the beauty and the shame, the torture and the humiliation of their land, torn with dissensions, groaning under cruelty from within and without. The corrupt politicians of Nicaragua looked askance at the dynamic energy, the lambent flame of his pure will. They tried to bribe him over to their side—money, honors, a seat in the Nicaraguan chamber of deputies were offered, one after another, but always in vain, to this young patriot whom the Babbitts and the Yellow press have not blushed to call a bandit—had

not French imperialism killed about thirty thousand nationalists in Syria and called them bandits? Failing to win him over to their ignoble side, they tried to have him assassinated at a tavern but Sandino wounded one of his assailants and escaped. Since that day he has abjured drink and we now read in an Associated Press dispatch that Sandino is understood to have established prohibition in the territory under his control." Another addition to his count of sins against 'big business'! Nicaragua under Wall Street administration had become an unbearable place for many Nicaraguans, among them Sandino. He went away to Mexico in 1924 to work in Tampico oil-fields, and stayed there till 1926, when Maxico as has been stated, sold arms to Moncada. Then fearing that Moncada would, to use his own words in a letter to a friend, "at the first opportunity sell out to America" and "betray Sacasa", he, although a supporter of the labour cause, decided "to get into" the Sacasa revolution and save it from Moncada and the United States. He, therefore, went back to his country and asked Moncada for arms which were refused him. Some of the men who were faithful to Sacasa, however, gave him forty rifles and some ammunition. He then allied himself with General Parajon, a field-organiser of the Nicaraguan Federation of Labour. When the States intervened in December 1927, as already stated, Diaz and Moncada vied with each other as to who should sell his country at bargain price to American capitalists, and get their backing. Moncada outbid Diaz by guaranteeing the surrender of all the Generals except Sandino. General Parajon came to the conclusion that it was

useless to try and withstand the god-like might of America, and so laid down his arms. But Sandino still keeps up the fight in the foothills of Nicaragua, although the United States has sent in a good few thousand troops to crush this 'bandit,' who, moreover, is ringed round by traitors in his own country. For, both Diaz and Moncada are thirsting to present his head to the American capitalists, mounted on a silver charger.

Measure the greatness of this young hero in his thirties, with his tenderness. Realising the extreme danger, the 'hopelessness' of his fight with America, he lined up his men. To those who had families, he said, "You must not be sacrificed. I bid you farewell." Then turning to the others he said that if there was any man among them who wanted to leave him he was free to do so. "You need give no explanations. I know that no one of you is a coward." Small wonder his men prefer to stay by him.

For, these men who are fighting today under his banner Labour's red and black flag know that they are fighting for no petty causes but fighting to keep their dear land safe from the rapacious vultures of Wall Street. How long these brave men and their brave chief will be made to go on fighting this shamefully unequal fight, nobody knows. It is up to the liberal section of the Great American people in whose name these things are done, to stop this wrong which is being done to a country already too often wronged before, and to save from possible destruction, the brave men fighting under one whom History has lifted out of the nameless among men, onto the pedestal on which are set the true sons of Humanity, the Liberators of men—General Augusto Calderon Sandino.

THE CAUSES OF THE SECOND AFGHAN WAR

By MAJOR B. D. BASU, I. M. S., (Retired)

THE acquisition of territory in, and the extension of the boundaries of India by England, would seem to have terminated with the suppression of the Mutiny and the proclamation of Queen Victoria. In that memorable document, Her Majesty announced:

"We desire no extension of our present territorial possessions." To make the proclamation solemn, Her Majesty concluded it by invoking the aid of Providence. "May the God of all power," wrote she, "grant unto us, and to those in authority under us, strength

to carry out these our wishes for the good of our people." But the earth had hardly completed eighteen revolutions round the sun since the issue of the above-mentioned proclamation when those in authority under Her Majesty began to concoct schemes and plans with the object of extending the territorial possessions of Her Majesty in the East.

Their schemes or rather conspiracies ended in that terrible disaster which equalled, if not surpassed, the Indian Mutiny in magnitude and proportions. That terrible disaster was the second Afghan War.

To trace the causes of the War, one would find that the lessons derived from the first Afghan War and the Indian Muntiny were lost upon the ministers of Her Majesty. They caused Her Majesty to violate treaty obligations with an independent Prince and also made the solemn Proclamation issue by her a dead letter and a farce. The object aimed at by these Christian ministers was more territorial possessions, or, to quote the words of the man who was at the head of the Ministry in England, they were in search of the "scientific frontier" of India.

Lord Dalhousie made the Khan of Khelat sign a treaty in 1854 by which that Chieftain was reduced to the position of a feudatory vassal of the Government of India. He (the Khan of Khelat), moreover, agreed to allow British troops "to occupy such positions as may be thought advisable by the British authorities in any part of the territory of Khelat."

In India itself Dalhousie had too many irons in the fire to avail himself of the advantage which the new treaty with the Khan of Khelat placed at his disposal. But twenty-two years afterwards, i.e., in 1876, when every one was under the impression that Her Majesty had no desire of extending her territorial possessions, the people of India and Afghanistan were surprised to learn that Quetta had been occupied by British troops under the treaty engagements of 1854 with the Khan of Khelat. This occupation of Quetta greatly alarmed the people of Afghanistan.

In this place it is necessary to recount the events which preceded the occupation of Quetta. For this purpose we should advert to the correspondence that had passed between the Ministry in England and the Government of India in India. Although many passages in this correspondence are suppressed, yet the published records will

enable any intelligent man to form his judgment on the subject.

No treaty was entered into between the Government of India and the Amir of Afghanistan till 1855. When in 1840 and 1841 the Christian Government of India was carrying fire and sword in Afghanistan, its legitimate ruler, Dost Mohammed Khan, was a state-prisoner in India. After the evacuation of Afghanistan by the British Dost Mohammed was allowed to return to his country and resume his throne. But he had not bound himself by any treaty with his Christian benefactors. It was in 1855 that Sir Herbert Edwardes, who was then Commissioner of Peshawar, suggested to Lord Dalhousie the desirability of entering into treaty engagements with the Amir of Cabul. Lord Dalhousie authorised Sir John (afterwards Lord) Lawrence, the then Chief Commissioner of the Punjab, to conclude the treaty with Dost Mohammed. This treaty bears the date of May 1, 1855. It was supplemented by another in 1857. The former treaty of 1855 professed 'perpetual peace and friendship' between the Government of India and the Amir of Afghanistan. The supplementary treaty was entered into when the British Government was at war with Persia. It provided that a lakh of rupees per month should be paid by the Government of India to Dost Mohammed for military purposes, and that British officers should reside in Afghanistan to see that the subsidy was properly applied, and to keep the Government of India informed of all affairs. To quote the words of the Treaty :—

"The subsidy of one lakh per mensem shall cease from the date on which peace is made between the British and Persian Governments, or at any previous time at the will and pleasure of the Governor-General of India.

"Whenever the subsidy shall cease, the British officers shall be withdrawn from the Ameer's country; but at the pleasure of the British Government a Vakeel, not a European officer, shall remain at Cabul on the part of the Government, and one at Peshawar on the part of the Government of Cabul."

Dost Mohammed died in June 1863, and was succeeded by his son Sher Ali Khan. In 1867 he allowed the Government of India to send a Muhammadan gentleman of rank and character to reside at his court, and there to represent the British Government.

Up to 1875, no attempt was made to replace the Muhammadan gentleman who acted as the agent of the Government of India at

the Court of Cabul. But in that year the Indian Government was told by the Secretary of State for India to replace the Muhammadan gentleman by an English officer. The conservative party was at that time in power in England. Its chief was Disraeli. His ambition was to color the map of Asia red. This shrewd prime minister of England conspired to destroy the independence of Afghanistan.

He found an able lieutenant in the person of the Secretary of State for India named Marquis of Salisbury, who afterwards rose to be the Prime-Minister of England. The natives of India have no reasons to cherish with reverence the name of the Marquis of Salisbury. For he inflicted many miseries and calamities on the people of Hindustan. It was he who brought about the War with Afghanistan; it was he who tried to "cheat" the people of India by reducing the age limit of candidates for the Civil Service Examination; it was he who declared in a public meeting that no English constituency would return a "black man" to Parliament. The black man referred to was the well-known Indian patriot Dadabhai Naoroji. Again, when he rose to be the Prime-Minister of England and it was proposed to grant in a small measure the boon of Representative Government to India by expanding the scope of the Legislative Councils of India, this nobleman objected to it, declaring that the people of the East were accustomed to despotic, and not representative, systems of Government. Several other instances could be adduced to show why the people of India have just grounds for detesting his name.

But to resume the thread of our narrative, In the beginning of 1875, i. e., on the 22nd January, this nobleman was directed by his chief to write to the Governor-General of India a secret despatch. At that time Lord Northbrooke was the Governor-General of India. The Marquis of Salisbury desired the Earl of Northbrooke to substitute an Englishman for the Indian, as the agent at Cabul. He wrote:—

"Your Excellency maintains a Native Agent at Cabul, I am informed that he is a man of intelligence and respectability. But it appears to be very doubtful whether he is in a condition to furnish you with any facts which it is not the Ameer's wish that you should receive. Even if you could rely upon the perfect frankness of his communications, it is not likely that any Native Agent would possess a sufficient insight into the policy of Western nations to collect the information you require. One of the principal qualifications

for this function is the neutrality of feeling in respect to religious and national controversies, which only a European can possess. Of the value of the Cabul diaries different opinions are expressed. It is obvious that they are very meagre, and doubts have been thrown upon their fidelity.

"Her Majesty's Government are of opinion that more exact and constant information is necessary to the conduct of a circumspect policy at the present juncture. The disposition of the people in various parts of Afghanistan, the designs and intrigues of its chiefs, the movements of nomad tribes upon its frontier, the influence which foreign powers may possibly be exerting within and without its borders, are matters of which a proper account can only be rendered to you by an English Agent residing in the country. There are many details, moreover, a knowledge of which it is material that the military authorities should possess, and with respect to which it is not to be expected that a Native Agent would be either able or willing to collect for your Government trustworthy information."

The Agent for whose removal Lord Salisbury was so keen, was a Muhammadan gentleman named Ata Muhammad. The noble Marquis was unable to bring forward any evidence to show that the Agent had ever failed in his duty. No instance is known in which it could be asserted that Ata Muhammad did not keep the Government of India informed of what was going on in Afghanistan and its frontiers.

Why was then Lord Salisbury or rather the Disraeli ministry so anxious to replace Ata Muhammad by a Christian officer?

This question can only be satisfactorily answered on a hypothesis based on the political transactions of the British with the Princes of Hindustan. Whenever the British wanted to swallow up an Indian principality or whenever they desired to reduce an independent Prince to the position of a feudatory, their first move has always consisted in the fastening of an English Resident or Agent on the non-Christian prince. These English residents or agents play the part of diplomatists in the courts of Indian princes. Regarding these diplomatists the well-known English General Gordon, who met with his death in the besieged town of Khartoum, wrote:—

"Our diplomatists are conies, and not officially honest. * * I must say I hate our diplomatists. I think with few exceptions they are arrant humbugs, and I expect they know it."

This estimate of British diplomatists by General Gordon is borne out by facts. These diplomatists, known in India as Political Residents and Agents, create confusion and

disorder in the states to which they are sent to represent their employers. This is not denied by the British historians of India. In the last century it was considered expedient to create disorder and confusion in the kingdom of the Peishwa; hence a British Resident was sent to the Peishwa's court. The name of this resident was Mr. Mostyn. The historian of the Mahrattas, Captain Grant Duff, naively writes that Mr. Mostyn was sent to Poona "to foment domestic dissensions."

Again, when Kashmir was required to be brought under the political control of the Government of India, the first step that was taken to secure this end was to despatch a British Political Resident to the court of the Hindu Ruler of the Happy Valley. No sooner had this officer settled himself in his new position than the grand discovery was made that the Raja of Kashmir was intriguing with Russia to overthrow the British Government in India! It was alleged that regular correspondence passed between the Raja and the Czar. It is now an open secret that the correspondence was all forgery and that the officer who represented the might and power of the great Empire over which the sun never sets had a hand in the creation of this forged correspondence.

The Amir of Cabul and his Afghan subjects knew very well the stuff of which these European politicals are made. They knew how the European officers whom they had hospitably entertained, for the Afghans are well-known for their hospitality, plunged their country into a war from the effects of which they were still suffering. They knew that a highly pious Christian like Sir William Macnaughten did not scruple to create confusion and disorder in their country by assassinating their chiefs and sowing discord in the ranks of their nobles. Imagine how black must have been the deeds of the Christians in Afghanistan when Captain J. B. Conolly, who, as political Assistant and in the confidence of the Envoy, Sir William Macnaughten, could and *did* write to Mohan Lal:—

"Tell the Kuzzilbash chiefs, Sherian Khan, Naib Sheriff, in fact, all the chiefs of Shiah persuasion, to join against the rebels. You can promise one lac of rupees to Khan Sherian on the condition of his killing and seizing the rebels, and arming all the Shiahs, and immediately attacking all rebels. * * * Tell the chiefs, who are well-disposed, to send respectable agents to the Envoy. Try and spread '*nifak*' amongst the rebels. I promise

10,000 rupees for the head of each of the principal rebel chiefs."

The Amir of Cabul was not expected to fasten the rope round his own neck. Lord Northbrooke invited the opinions of all those who were conversant with the Afghan politics to ascertain whether the Amir would consent to have a British officer in his Court as a Resident or an Agent. All of them assured him that such a step would not be approved of by the Amir. Lord Salisbury's despatch was replied to by the Government of India on the 7th June, 1875. The Viceroy wrote:—

"If the concurrence of all those who may be supposed to have the means of forming a correct judgment of the sentiments of the Ameer is of any value, we must be prepared to find him most unwilling to receive a British Agent."

"There can be no reasonable doubt that there still exists a strong party among the Sirdars of Afghanistan opposed to the measure. Although the time which has elapsed since the Afghan War appears to us to be long on account of the succession of Governors-General of India, and the importance of the events that have intervened, there are many persons living in Afghanistan who were engaged in that war, and whose memory of what took place is probably the more lively from the narrow limits of their thoughts and actions. Those who have had the most intimate acquaintance with Afghanistan have always expressed their opinion that the establishment of complete confidence between the Afghans and the British must be a work of time."

Lord Northbrooke protested in vain against the forcing of a British agent on the Amir. The fiat had gone forth that a British officer should be delegated to Afghanistan. Her Majesty in assuming the direct government of India, proclaimed:

"And it is our further will that, so far as may be, our subjects, of whatever race or creed, be freely and impartially admitted to offices in our service the duties of which they may be qualified, by their education, ability and integrity, duly to discharge."

Why were then Her Majesty's ministers so hostile to the Muhammadan agent at the court of the Amir? Lord Salisbury in his despatch admitted that the agent was "a man of intelligence and respectability." But his Lordship expressed his doubt whether the "Native Agent would possess a sufficient insight into the policy of Western nations." If the Native agent did not possess the required qualification the fault was not his but of the government for not training its subjects in such a way that they might

"possess a sufficient insight into the policy of Western nations."

It was in 1833 that Mr. Thomas Babington (afterwards Lord) Macaulay, from his place in the House of Commons, said:—"Are we to keep the people of India ignorant, in order that we may keep them submissive?" But in 1853, Mr. John Bright had to use the following language to show that the Government of India had done nothing to educate the people of that country and that the object of that government was to keep the people of India submissive and therefore ignorant:—

Mr. Cameron, a gentleman who presided over the Indian Law Commission and Council of education from Bengal, said in 1853:—

"The Statute of 1833 made the natives of India eligible to all offices under the Company. But during the twenty years that have passed [they have not got any posts except] such as they were eligible to before the Statute. It is not, however, of this commission that I should feel justified in complaining, if the Company had shown any disposition to make the natives fit, by the highest European education, for admission to their covenanted service. Their disposition, as far as it can be devised, is of the opposite kind."

"When four students were sent to London from the Medical College of Calcutta, under the sanction of Lord Hardinge, in Council, to complete their professional education, the Court of Directors expressed their dissatisfaction."

Speeches of John Bright, Vol. I, p. 22. (Speech on India June 3rd, 1853)

Lord Salisbury, in his despatch indirectly admitted that the British rule in India had been a failure. For while "the grandsons of the Gauls who had besieged Julius Caesar in Alesia commanded legions, governed provinces, and were admitted into the Senate of Rome", no Indian after enjoying British rule for over a century is considered fit to act as an Agent in the Court of an Asiatic Prince because he is not supposed to "possess a sufficient insight into the policy of Western nations."*

In the despatch, dated London, November 19, 1875, the Viceroy and Governor-General of India was peremptorily ordered by Lord Salisbury to replace the Native Agent in Afghanistan by a British officer. With this end in view, the noble Marquis even suggested the adoption of a tortuous course of policy. He wrote to the Viceroy:—

* How does this compare with the policy of the Moghul Emperors who appointed Hindoos as Viceroys and Commanders-in-Chief to govern their Afghan possessions? Akbar's Viceroy in Cabul was a Hindoo.

"The first step, therefore, in establishing our relations with the Ameer upon a more satisfactory footing, will be to induce him to receive a temporary embassy in his capital. *It need not be publicly connected with the establishment of a permanent Mission within his dominions. There would be many advantages in ostensibly directing it to some object of smaller political interest which it will not be difficult for Your Excellency to find or if need be, to create.* I have, therefore, to instruct you, on behalf of Her Majesty's Government, without any delay that you can reasonably avoid, to find some occasion for sending a mission to Cabul; and to press the reception of this Mission very earnestly upon the Ameer."

The italicised sentences in the above show how anxious the noble Marquis was to press a British officer on the Ameer and to gain this object he did not hesitate to advocate the adoption of questionable means.

To Lord Northbrooke's credit it should be mentioned that he tried to dissociate himself from the crooked and unrighteous policy which the Marquis of Salisbury asked him to adopt. Again, a protest was made by the Viceroy of India. In his despatch, dated Fort William, January 28, 1876, Lord Northbrooke pointed out the undesirability of forcing a British Agent on the Ameer. Regarding the efficient work of the Native Agent, he wrote:—

"We had no reason to believe that information of importance was withheld; that, on the contrary, the information supplied was fairly full and accurate, and that the diaries contained internal evidence that the intelligence reported in them was not submitted to the Ameer for his approval. * * * A perusal of the recent diaries is sufficient in our opinion to establish the improbability of the statement (for which, indeed, we have never seen any evidence advanced) that the Agent withholds information in deference to the wishes of the Ameer. As a matter of fact, we are not aware that any event of importance, which it would have been the Agent's duty to report, has not been promptly communicated to us."

Referring to the tortuous course which the Marquis of Salisbury enjoined, Lord Northbrooke wrote:—

"If a Mission is to be sent to Cabul, the most advisable course would be to state frankly and fully to the Ameer the real purpose of the Mission. The Ameer and his advisers are shrewd enough to understand that only matters of grave political importance could induce us to send a special Mission to his Highness' Court. If the Mission were directed to objects of minor political importance, the Ameer and his officials would be incredulous. He might then decline to discuss the weightier questions brought forward by our envoy and in all probability his confidence in us would be shaken, especially as the proposal to establish British Agents in Afghanistan is, as we pointed out in our despatch of June 7, a departure from the understanding

arrived at between Lord Mayo and, the Ameer at the Umballa conferences of 1869."

But all the logic and arguments of Lord Northbrooke and his colleagues composing the Government of India were lost upon the Secretary of State for India and the members of the cabinet of which Disraeli

was the chief. As Lord Northbrooke could not conscientiously carry out the behest of the Disraeli Ministry, he saw no other course open to him but to resign the Viceroyalty of India. And this he did.

(To be continued)

INDIA—MY SISTER

If I bring thee nought but a wounded heart
To plead with thy wounded pride ;
If I bring thee nought but repentant tears
For the boon so long denied—
The love that should bind all men as one,
That should link the East and West,
That should kill all pride of place or power
Of race or of creed professed :
If I bring thee nought but a bitter shame
At thy people's rightful ire
That a sister's hand should have struck thy face
And dragged thy name in the mire :
I bring thee at least no empty smile
And my pity is not for thee—
O India, the land of a thousand ills—
But for those who are blind as we
Who stand apart in our sinful pride
And taunt thee with thy despair.
Unheeding the need to lend a hand
Thy burden to aid the bear ;
To repair the ravage of ceaseless feuds
To nourish the goodly seeds :
For my faith is strong that the best endures
Beneath a forest of weeds.
And who are the heroes all strong and pure
And where are the saints, alas !...
And which is the nation can fling a stone
From a house that is not glass ?.....
O India, I bring thee a clearer sight,
And the healing balm of prayer
For the daily struggle thou hast to make
And the ills that are thy share.
I strive to follow thy subtle thoughts,
Thy dreams and thy wistful aims ;
I long to feel the pangs of thy thirst,
And burn in the self-same flames
As thou, O Sister of mine that sits
In the dust of thy sun-lit land
And spins, or bakes, or sings, or pray
Or begs with a piteous hand ;
That knows no shame of honest toil,
Nor poverty nor blight—
For all are surely gifts of God,
And He is surely right.
I see as in a dream the years
Steal slowly o'er thy head,
From that first dawn that saw thy birth
To that which nigh is sped...
I see a-many million shades
Of men arise and walk ;
I view a wondrous pageantry,

And hear a wondrous talk.
I list a thousand tales re-told
In strangely well-known words,
I note familiar airs and garb
And spears and glittering swords...
And in the dusk a thousand deeds
Are once again performed,
And once again is heard the din
Of war, and cities stormed.
And e'en amid the din of war
I hear a well-known cry ;
And see familiar faces light,
Or darken, ere they die...
I see the page of history wrought
Not written yet by men,
Of wars, and crimes, and dreadful deeds
Of times beyond our ken.
I see a world of world-wide woes.
From end to end of time,
I see God everywhere defied
In every land and clime.
I hear familiar curses cried,
I see familiar sin.
Where'er I go, which way I turn
The Evil seems to win.....
But does it ?...Ah, another view
Presents itself to me :
The noble deeds of noble men
Are quite as plain to see.
Beside the weeds of sins and crimes
The good green corn is grown
In daily tasks, in kindly acts
In love for kindness shown...
Ah, Sister India, in thine eyes,
I see the light of hope,
I see thee gaze within thy past
And 'mid the pages grope
For those dear faces, those dear names,
That shine forever there
As beacon lights to other men
Because so wondrous fair.
I see thee turn from name to name
And ask thyself with pride,
If other lands have greater hearts
Than those for thee that died.
Did they not love thee, live they not
In word and works divine ?
Did they not win immortal fame—
Hast thou no gods like mine ?
I gaze in pain down fruitless years
That have kept our lives apart,

For nought can save the souls of men
 But union—heart with heart—
 A league of souls to break all bars
 Of creed and caste and race,
 And build a realm of God on Earth

That shall all His sons embrace...
 O Sister India, thou who sits
 So firm on thy lowly sod—
 Should we not strive to form that League
 To reconquer the Earth for God ?

ST. CLAIR

POLITICS, PROPAGANDA, PRESS AND PUBLIC

By VICTOR MOGENS—OSLO

DURING the war, the word 'propaganda' underwent an unhappy change of meaning. In those unhappy days, when we neutrals were bombarded with books, brochures, articles, telegrams and photographs, from both the belligerent parties and thus such a confusion that created and it was impossible to think out matters calmly. As in most other points, the confusion was complete also regarding propaganda. The neutral countries were divided into two camps and the "communications" from the opposite parties were, as a rule, called 'propaganda.' 'Propaganda' became synonymous with lying and that with conscious and wicked lies as well as other devilries. For the sake of accuracy it was often called "lying propaganda" and even when this characterisation was not expressly mentioned it was all the while implied. Even now this word signifies something hateful and it is generally used to designate various attempts of the enemy.

In a work on political propaganda the chapter on the propaganda of the world-war would be certainly a shameful piece of literature. The powerful apparatus which was again and again built for propaganda work, the power of fabrication which was displayed and the boldness and impertinence which were exhibited are in their way a monument of human ability, but like the war itself, ability which served to produce discord and hatred and to fabricate shameless lies. Never has false morality recorded such triumphs, never was hatred and contempt mixed with such refinement of hypocrisy and that to such an extent; never were conscious lies used so systematically as a political weapon. It is contemptuous but

is in its way imposing. The English maxim, "tell a lie and stick to it", seems to have been the suitable but highly immoral motto of all this propaganda. And this may be said also of another English proverb which was adopted by all the countries: "right or wrong, my country."

The war propaganda worked on three fronts. First in one's own country in order to excite the spirit of war and to keep up the hatred against the enemy and maintain the justice of one's own cause.

Further, the propaganda was extended so far as possible into the enemy country principally by throwing fly-leaves from aeroplanes on or behind the enemy front, the contents of which were detrimental to the morale of the troops. The English were past masters in this and later Americans too followed their example. They had established printing machines behind the front solely for the purpose of printing papers of this sort; and towards the end of the war when the masters of advertisement displayed their full power, every day hundreds of thousands of fly-leaves were thrown upon the German lines, and surely they contributed to the confusion of the German front. Much of this bungling work was so startling that they had just the opposite effect; other papers, however, were composed with accurate psychological estimation of the enemy. The American propaganda officer Capt. Blankenhorne published many characteristic texts in his book, "Adventures in propaganda." These papers were mostly in the form questions such as the following:—

1. Are the Germans really still so strong as in July 1918 ?

2. Their enemies are daily growing stronger or weaker.

3. Have the heavy defeats which you suffered in 1918 brought you the victorious peace, which was promised by your leaders.

4. Have you still faith in final victory

5. Do you wish to sacrifice your life for a hopeless cause?

The highest leader of the powerful propaganda machinery of the entente was the great advertising expert, Lord Northcliffe, and if he claims for himself a great share of the honor of the victory it is not at all unjustified, however ludicrous it may sound. In the campaign led by him, he was certainly a more genial leader than any of the entente military leaders in the battle-field. The defeat of the central powers began in their south-east front. The break-down of the Bulgarian front and the dissolution of the heterogeneous Austro-Hungarian army were the factors which rendered the final defeat of the central powers unavoidable. Northcliffe had admitted that he had directed his main attack against the weakest point of the enemy, that is to say, against the Austro-Hungarian front. Here of the fifty-two millions of men at least 31 millions were anti-German and wanted to see the defeat of the central powers. To these peoples it was equivalent to a promise of self-determination and political independence. Northcliffe, however, had to get over great political difficulties. According to the secret agreement in London, April 1915, the allies had promised to Italy large tracts in the Adriatic coast as remuneration for joining the war and Italy did not then think of giving the right of self-determination to these districts. Yet however after long negotiations carried on by his fellow-workers Steed and Seton-Watson, Northcliffe succeeded in coming to an agreement between the Italian minister Orlando and the South-Slav leader Trumbitsch. The result of the agreement of April, 1918 was that Northcliffe who had achieved this political step started a powerful propaganda with the purpose of undermining the fronts of the dual monarchy. The world had never seen a propaganda work greater than this. These fronts were literally covered with a hail-storm of fly-leaves, proclamation, maps, sketches, declarations of independence etc. The result was not far in coming. Desertions in the Italian front and the betrayal of offensive plans and positions increased in course of a short

time to such an extent that it was impossible to keep the front intact. We know how it ended and there is no doubt that Northcliffe's "propaganda-poison" was one of the most potent contributive factors.

The third front in which the war propaganda was active was that of the neutral countries. These were the unfortunate objects of a double bombardment. Each of the two parties wanted to gain the sympathy of the little part of the world which was still neutral. Propaganda worked hand in hand with politics, each party wanted to create a suitable field for its political machinations by flooding us with literature which was intended to convince us of the just cause for which it fought in the battle "which was forced on it." They would also convince us how criminal the enemy was and that the neutral powers too should plunge into this holy war, which was, in fact, carried on only for their sake (cf. England's love for the weak nations).

Now a decade after this "blooming period" of this propaganda it is possible to judge it and we can see with what abominable methods this propaganda was carried on among the neutrals to arouse hatred and abhorrence against the enemy. A short time ago an English propaganda officer published a communique that the story that the Germans used to extract fat out of the corpses of dead soldiers was a lie fabricated by him and that the illustrations accompanying the text were fakes. Hundreds of such falsehoods were fabricated. I have seen a series of horrible pictures of pogroms in Russia which were distributed in millions of copies all over the world by the French propaganda bureau under the superscriptions "Après le passage des barbares," "les crimes des hordes allemandes en Pologne", etc. A photograph of peace time representing a number of German officers with their trophies of victory after a race competition consisting of silver beakers, goblets and cups was distributed all over the world during the period of the war under the subscription "the German robbers after plundering a castle". We still remember the horrible reports of the Germans who hacked off the hands of Belgian children and the pictures of whipped and half-naked women, and to-day we neutrals are horrified when we come to know the methods by which people wanted to have us on the "right" side.

The chief seat of the entente propaganda was the propaganda centre in London and

Sir Campbell Stuart has written a very interesting book "The secrets of Crewe-House" about its activities. But from February 1918 the organisation was transformed into an "Information Ministry" under the guidance of Lord Beaverbrook. For every country, for instance, France, Holland, U. S. A., Norway, there was a special departmental chief, and in biweekly conferences, all the information received were discussed and new lines of action were prescribed. A particular department in this ministry, the National War Aims Committee, was entrusted with the duty of maintaining the belligerent spirit of the people and keeping clear the aims of the war. Another department took charge of guiding visitors from neutral countries and to treat them in proper way. Besides the ministry, Northcliffe carried on his own propaganda institution dealing with the enemy countries.

During the first year of the war the chief duty of English propaganda was to work upon the spirit of the people of U. S. A. so that they were at last ripe for joining the war. We know with what boldness this propaganda was carried on. There was no method which was too coarse or shameless if it could but contribute to the realisation of the final aim. Sir Gilbert Parker relates in an article in *Harper's Magazine* about this activity :

"I need hardly say that the range of our propaganda department in America was very great, and its activity very comprehensive. Every week we submitted a report to the British Government. We were always in connection with the correspondents of American papers, and provided for every American paper at least one English paper. We influenced the people by means of kinopresentations, newspaper articles and pamphlets. We answered the letters of critical Americans. We gave advice and tried to induce people of every sort to write articles. We availed ourselves of the good services of confidential persons in America. By means of personal correspondence with influential men of all classes we organised societies for propaganda. We founded libraries, clubs and journals for the use of the Y. M. C. A. We had 10,000 propaganda agents in America."

What must have been the cost of all this ! But the entente has on that account gained the war, thanks to their masterly propaganda. And for the seventh and the

last time, nothing is so dear as to lose a world war.

In France the propaganda was carried on by the *Maison de la Presse*, dependant on the foreign ministry, and on the reorganised form of *Bureau de la Presse et des Informations* as well as of *Service de Propaganda*. This propaganda institution whose chief duty was to influence the foreign press had in its first year of existence an official budget of 25 million francs. But how great the secret funds were, is still unknown.

The German propaganda, on the other hand, was as bad and planless as the entente propaganda was brilliant and heedless ; but for this reason the German propaganda was much more honest. When the German army during the whole period of war was on the offensive in all the fronts, the propaganda even from the very beginning was defensive and so had lost the game even at the very beginning. The German propaganda may be regarded as an example as to how a propaganda should not be carried on. First of all, organisation, for which the Germans are so famous in all other departments, was wanting in it. Various organisations were at work but without mutual understanding and without a fixed plan. The highest power lay in the foreign office and it was bureaucratic and ossified, moreover, the German propaganda worked without any psychological understanding of those peoples who were to be influenced, and the result was that they were more frequently offended rather than won for the German. Above all, they did not appear to comprehend the secret of advertisement and of the art of influencing the mass. They did not understand the importance of a good shibboleth and the secret of repetition was unknown in German propaganda as we have it in the American principle of advertisement, "What you wish to be believed, you must say a dozen times." The German propaganda opposed the shibboleths of the others, which burnt like a prairie fire in the whole world, with circumstantial and well-grounded essays which painfully tried to prove that the Germans were right but which were never read up to the end by any man. Before the reasoned-out essays of the German professors appeared the publicity experts of the other side coined a new shibboleth.

When Miss Cavell was executed, the whole world cried "revenge for Cavell."

The Germans replied that the military laws of every country prescribe capital punishment for what was done by Cavell. But to raise a hue and cry at least over one of the women who were executed by the enemy—that the Germans failed to accomplish. The entente propagandists time and often sounded the chord of sympathy, and fully understood how to produce abhorrence against the alleged cruel war of the Germans. In those years of despair, when the hunger blockade daily claimed the heavy toll of hundreds of victims, the German foreign propaganda was engaged only in describing in glowing terms the miserable condition of the country instead of fighting this most cruel weapon of war through propaganda.

It may be said in defence of this unsuccessful propaganda that from the first moment it was defensive and a propaganda which is exclusively meant for dementis has lost the game even from the beginning. The Germans did not think what their enemies wished to do and actually perform to call a world to arms. They thought that Bismark's words "one shoots the enemy not with" public opinion but with powder and lead, could be applied even to the present day.

But this foreign propaganda was not over with the war. Besides the very active trade propaganda which began after the conclusion of the war, chiefly from the side of the Americans, the culture propaganda has since then assumed huge proportions. Its chief activity consists of founding foreign associations. We have been lucky enough to have a series of such associations, one of which is Italo-Norwegian, but as yet there is no sign of the German-Norwegian association.

In culture propaganda France far excels all other countries. The Alliance Française is the oldest of the innumerable French foreign associations. It was founded in 1883 by professor Focin with Paul Cambon as the honorary president. To-day this society counts more than a hundred thousand members all over the world and is a propaganda organisation for the French language, or, as its founder has formed the programme in his beautiful mother-tongue, the aim of the society is to "realise the noble destiny of the French language—to rule over the whole world in all honour." By means of lectures, courses of instruction and writings and with the help of zealous Frenchmen and foreigners who are French in spirit, this propaganda is carried on in

every part of the world with this definite aim. Under Alliance Française there is again a number of special organizations. I mention here only the Société de Conférences the lectures of which are translated into seven languages and are strewn all over the world in at least 30,000 copies.

Besides the Alliance Française the Amities Françaises was founded in 1909 (the name is taken from a novel of Maurice Barres); it is a culture propaganda organisation on a wider plan than the old organisation, but, like it, with a strong imperialistic tendency. The first groups were formed outside France; the management, however, lies in the hands of a group of twelve persons in Paris. The Amities Françaises, according to its programme, wishes to "propagate not only the language but also all the ideals, traditions, usages and culture of the French spirit. It hopes to construct a bulwark against every thing that is anti-French, above all, against pan-Germanism." In Norway it has many Germanic members. Particularly after the war it has displayed an intensive campaign for enlisting members. The writer of these lines was himself honoured no less than three times with invitations to become a member of this society from the head office in Paris during the last year.

I say that during the war the word "propaganda" had undergone an unhappy change of meaning. But the thing itself is not so bad—so far as he who carries on the propaganda does it with his own sacred conviction and does not allow himself to be led by considerations lying outside this thing (such as personal interests) and so far as the means resorted to are not such as to be justified only by the end.

To carry on propaganda for an idea and for the belief and conviction with which a person thinks of serving others, is not only permissible morally but justified in a high degree and even a duty! The American William Bayard Hale told me once when I spoke to him about his undaunted propaganda against America's entry into war, "he who does not wish to make a propaganda for his idea, is not worth having one."

The greatest propaganda to-day and for all times is that which is carried on for the Christian religion, and even a propaganda centre like that of Northcliffe cannot, in this respect, be compared with the Catholic church. Even Jesus himself with the words "go you to every part of the world and make

all men my followers" has given us a direct command for propaganda for his teachings. The missionaries in the heathen countries are propagandists for Christian teachings, and the magnificent church buildings with their high towers rising towards heaven and the solemn ecclesiastical ceremonies, the grandeur of the church, the music of the organ and the exhorting call of the bells, all these are means of propaganda for this faith intended to act on the mass. Propaganda should never be despised because, as Lamartine says, "Dieu lui meme a besoin que l'on sonne les cloches," "God Himself requires somebody to sound His bells."

It cannot be said that a good cause requires no propaganda, for the truth is victorious by its own strength. The truth rather wins only then—and thus becomes real truth—when some men have been thoroughly permeated by it and consider it their duty to convert other people. Only then it becomes living truth. A lie may very well triumph over the absolute truth if only this falsehood has followers and propagandists while nobody has faith in the truth and none wishes to serve it.

But we, the public, who are outside all parts of the propaganda, must be on our guard. There is another word for this matter: advertisement. Propaganda is carried on for

an idea, advertisement for a soap. But the public has to regard critically both propaganda and advertisement. The public must suspect both the advertisers and the propagandists with regard to their want of objectivity. People are mostly suspicious against advertisement till a subjective corroboration of its pretensions is found. But even as a man is suspicious about the "best soap in the world," even so critical should we be about the assertions of blessings which "our party" would pour over the country if it comes to power, and we should be careful also about outlandish propaganda.

We must remember that the overwhelming number of papers are party papers or organs for a certain cause or certain interests. The four P's in the superscription, politics, propaganda, press and public, form together an organic whole. The path of politics to the public passes through press propaganda. In our day there is no other way than this for any one who wishes to put forward a political idea. Such a propaganda is in every way justifiable if only the means is morally permissible.

[Summary translation by Batakrishna Ghosh of the German version of the article in *Deutsche Rundschau*, December, 1927.]

ROMAIN ROLLAND ON PARISIAN ART

COMPILED BY A BOOK-LOVER

M. Romain Rolland's novel, *Jean Christophe* has been hailed by Mr. Edmund Gosse as 'the noblest work of fiction of the twentieth century.' Mr. Gilbert Cannan, the English translator, considers it to be 'the most comprehensive survey of modern life which has appeared in literature in this century.' In the advanced vernacular literatures of India the influence of modern French literary art has become quite evident, and discussions on art and morality form a distinct feature of Indian vernacular magazines. The views put forth by M. Romain Rolland in his novel on modern Parisian art and morality will, therefore, be

of interest to our readers. Before we quote these views, we think it necessary to observe that M. Rolland is not a strait-laced moralist. His hero, John Christopher the artist had his love-affairs with shop-girls and others, and the author did not sympathise with the Vogels, who were scandalised by Christopher's misconduct.

"Very religious, moral, and oozing domestic virtue, they were of those to whom the sins of the flesh are the most shameful, the most serious, almost the only sins, because they are the only sins to be dreaded (it is obvious that respectable people are never likely to be tempted to steal or murder)". [Eng. Trans. Vol. II, p. 115.]

The author says of a theatrical actress, a confirmed coquette, as follows :

"It was impossible to be angry with her. She was an honest [sic] girl, without any moral principles, lazy, sensual, pleasure-loving, child-like coquettish ; but at the same time so loyal, so kind, and all her faults were so spontaneous and so healthy [sic] that it was only possible to smile at them and even to love them." [Eng. Tran. Vol. II, p. 258]

The significance of the above passage will be made clear from the following extract :

"Christopher had never invented any moral theory : he loved the great poets and great musicians of the past, and they were no saints ; when he came across a great artist he did not inquire into his morality : he asked him rather : 'Are you healthy ?' To be healthy was the great thing." [Vol. III, p. 80.]

One more extract to show that M. Rolland's attitude towards sexual problems was not that of a narrow-minded Puritan :

"For anyone who can envisage life with serenity, there is a peculiar relish in remarking the perpetual contrast which exists in the very bosom of society between the extreme refinement of apparent civilization and its fundamental animalism. In every gathering that does not consist only of fossils and petrified souls, there are as it were, two conversational strata, one above the other : one—which everybody can hear—between mind and mind : the other—of which very few are conscious, though it is the greater of the two—between instinct and instinct, the beast in man and woman...The beast in man and woman, though tamed by centuries of civilization, and as cowed as the wretched lions in the tamer's cage, is always thinking of its food. But Christopher had not yet reached that disinterestedness which comes only with age and the death of the passions." [Vol. III, pp. 111-12.]

We shall now quote the views of this advanced thinker on modern French literary and dramatic art. The extracts are taken from the last but one volume [i.e., Vol. III] of the English translation, part V. s. v. 'The market place.' Indian imitators of the French model in the literature of fiction will find much in M. Rolland's views to warn and instruct them.

FRENCH PERIODICAL LITERATURE

[After Christopher had recoiled in disgust from the horrible incestuous filth that filled the pages of the daily papers, he was referred to].

"The report of a recent inquiry into Art and Morality, which set out that 'Love sanctified everything,' that 'sensuality was the leaven of Art,' that 'Morality was a convention of Jesuit education,' and that nothing mattered except 'the greatness of desire.' A number of letters from literary men witnessed the artistic purity of a novel depicting

the life of bawds. Some of the signatories were among the greatest names in contemporary literature, or the most austere of critics. A domestic poet, *bourgeois* and a Catholic, gave his blessing as an artist, to a detailed description of the decadence of the Greeks. There were enthusiastic praises of novels in which the course of Lewdness was followed through the ages : Rome, Alexandria, Byzantium, the Italian and French Renaissance, the Age of Greatness. Nothing was omitted. Another cycle of studies was devoted to the various countries of the world ; conscientious writers had devoted their energies, with a monkish patience, to the study of the low quarters of the five continents. And it was no matter for surprise to discover among these geographers and historians of Pleasure distinguished poets and very excellent writers. They were only marked out from the rest by their erudition. In their most impeccable style, they told archaic stories, highly spiced.

"But what was most alarming was to see honest men and real artists, men who rightly enjoyed a high place in French literature, struggling in such a traffic, for which they were not at all suited. Some of them with great travail wrote like the rest, the sort of trash that the newspapers serialize. They had to produce it by a fixed time, once or twice a week ; and it had been going on for years. They went on producing and producing, long after they had ceased to have anything to say, racking their brains to find something new, something more sensational, more bizarre ; for the public was surfeited and sick of everything, and soon wearied of even the most wanton imaginary pleasures ; they had always to go one better—better than the rest, better than their own best—and they squeezed out their very life blood, they squeezed out their guts : it was a pitiable sight, agrotresque spectacle...

"Christopher...could have no idea that this artistic degradation, which showed so rawly in Paris, was common to nearly all the great towns...And so, like so many of his compatriots, he saw in the secret sore which is eating away the intellectual aristocracies of Europe the vice proper to French art, and the bankruptcy of the Latin races.

FEMALE WRITERS

"The submerged lands exhaled an *odor de femina*. The literature of the day teemed with effeminate men and women. It is well that women should write if they are sincere enough to describe what no man has yet seen : the depths of the soul of a woman. But only very few dared do that : most of them only wrote to attract the men : they were as untruthful in their books as in their drawing-rooms : they jockeyed their facts and flirted with the reader. Since they were no longer religious, and had no confessor to whom to tell their little lapses, they told them to the public...

THE ETERNAL FEMININE

"The more clearly Christopher saw into the vat of ideas in which Parisian art was fermenting, the more strongly he was impressed by the supremacy of women in that cosmopolitan community. They had an absurdly disproportionate

importance. It was not enough for woman to be the helpmeet of man. It was not even enough for her to be his equal—Her pleasure must be law both for herself and for man. And man truckled to it. When a nation is growing old, it renounces its will, its faith, the whole essence of its being, in favour of the giver of pleasure. No doubt the Eternal Feminine has been an uplifting influence on the best of men: but for the ordinary men, in ages of weariness and fatigue, there, is, as some one has said, another Feminine, just as eternal, who drags them down. This other Feminine was the mistress of Parisian thought, the Queen of the Republic.

THE CRY OF THE MODERN PARISIAN EDUCATED WOMAN

"But what sort of work can we do? There isn't any that we could find interesting—for, I know, we dabble in all sorts of things, and pretend to be interested in a heap of things that do not concern us; we do so want to be interested in something! I do what the others do. I do charitable work and sit on social work committees. I go to lectures at the Sorbonne by Bergson and Jules Lemaitre, historical concerts, classical matinees, and I take notes and notes. I never know what I am writing! and I try to persuade myself that I am absorbed by it, or at least that it is useful. Ah! but I know that it is not true. I know that I don't care a bit, and that I am bored by it all. Don't despise me because I tell you frankly what everybody thinks in secret. I am no sillier than the rest. But what use are philosophy, history, and science to me? As for art,—you see,—I strum and daub and make messy little watercolor sketches; but is that enough to fill a woman's life? There is only one end to our life: marriage. But do you think there is much fun in marrying this or that young man whom I know as well as you do? I see them as they are. I am not fortunate enough to be like your German Gretchens, who can always create an illusion for themselves. That is terrible, isn't it? To look around and see girls who have married and their husbands, and to think that one will have to do as they have done, be cramped in body and mind, and become dull like them! One needs to be stoical, I tell you, to accept such a life with such obligations. All women are not capable of it. And time passes, and the years go by, youth fades; and yet there were lovely things and good things in us—all useless, for day by day they die. Even our mothers ignore us, and actually try not to know what we are. They only try to get us married. For the rest, they say, live, die, do as you like! Society absolutely abandons us."

EROTIC SOCIALISTS

"In love they were altogether in their element: that was their special province. The casuistry of pleasure had no secrets for them: they were so clever that they could invent new problems so as to have the honour of solving them. That has always been the occupation of people who have nothing else to do: in default of love they 'make love,' above all, they explain it. Their notes took up far more room than the text, which, as a matter of fact, was very short. Sociology gave a relish

to the most scabrous thoughts: everything was sheltered beneath the flag of sociology: though they might have had pleasure in indulging their vices, there would have been something lacking if they had not persuaded themselves that they were labouring in the cause of the new world—That was an eminently Parisian sort of socialism: erotic socialism.

"Among the problems that were then exercising the little Court of Love was the equality of men and women in marriage, and their respective rights in love. There had been young men, honest, protestant, and rather ridiculous—Scandinavians and Swiss—who had based equality on virtue: saying that men should come to marriage as chaste as women. The Parisian casuists looked for another sort of equality, an equality based on loss of virtue, saying that women should come to marriage as besmirched as men,—the right to take lovers. The Parisians had carried adultery in imagination and practice, to such a pitch that they were beginning to find it rather insipid: and in the world of letters attempts were being made to support it by a new invention: the prostitution of young girls—I mean regularised, universal, virtuous, decent, domestic, and above all, social prostitution. There had just appeared a book on the question, full of talent, which apparently said all there was to be said: though four hundred pages of playful pedantry, 'strictly in accordance with the rules of the Baconian method, it dealt with the 'best method of controlling the relations of the sexes.' It was a lecture on free love, full of talk about manners, propriety, good taste, nobility, beauty, truth, modesty, morality—a regular Berquin for young girls who wanted to go wrong...

THE CULT OF AMORALISM

"It seemed that there was everywhere the same spirit of mental prostitution. The pleasure-mongers were divided into two schools. On the one hand, there was the good old way, the national way of providing a coarse and unclean pleasure, quite frankly; a delight in ugliness, strong meat, physical deformities, a show of drawers, barrack-room jests, risky stories, red pepper, high game, private rooms—a manly frankness—as those people say who try to reconcile looseness and morality by pointing out that, after four acts of dubious fun, order is restored and the code triumphs by the fact that the wife is really with the husband whom she thinks she is receiving—(so long as the law is observed, then virtue is all right); that vicious sort of virtue which defends marriage by endowing it with all the charm of lewdness—the Gallic way.

"The other school was in the modern style. It was much more subtle and much more disgusting. The Parisianised Jews and the Judaicised Christians who frequented the theatre had introduced into it the usual hash of sentiment which is the distinctive of a degenerate cosmopolitanism. The men who were at that time in control of the theatres in Paris were extraordinarily skilful at beating up filth and sentiment, and giving virtue a flavouring of vice, vice a flavouring of virtue, and turning upside down every human relation of age, sex the family, and the affections. Their art, therefore, had an odour *snigeneris* which smelt good and bad at once,—that is to say, it

smelt very bad indeed: they called it 'amoralism.'

"One of their favourite heroes at that time was the amorous old man. Their theatres presented a rich gallery of portraits of the type: and in painting it they introduced a thousand petty touches—Society women were theirs. The men were bawds, the girls were Lesbian. And all these things happened in the highest society: the society of rich people—the only society that mattered—And it all reeked of death and the seraglio.

LITERARY DILLETANTISM

"Levy-Coeur was exactly the opposite of Christopher, and represented the spirit of irony and decay which fastened gently, politely, inexorably, on all the great things that were left of the dying society: the family, marriage, religion, patriotism: in art, on everything that was manly, pure, healthy, of the people; faith in ideas, feelings, great men, in Man. Behind that mode of thought there was only the mechanical pleasure of analysis, analysis pushed to extremes, a sort of animal desire to nibble at thought, the instinct of a worm. And side by side with that ideal of intellectual nibbling was a girlish sensuality...Everything was literary copy to him: his own adventures, his vices and the vices of his friends. He had written novels and plays in which, with much talent, he described the private life of his relations, and their most intimate adventures, and those of his friends, his own, his *liaisons*, among others one with the wife of his best friend: the portraits were well drawn: everybody praised them, the public, the wife, and his friend. It was impossible for him to gain the confidence or the favours of a woman without putting them into a book.

"He [Christopher] had had enough of Parisian society: he could not bear the emptiness of it, the idleness, the moral impotence, the neurasthenia, its aimless, pointless self-devouring hypercriticism. He wondered how people could live in such a stagnant atmosphere of art for art's sake, and pleasure for pleasures' sake.

LITERARY CRITICISM AND THE CULT OF TRUTH

"They were debating whether he [Victor Hugo] had been cuckolded: they argued at length about the love of Sainte-Beuve and Madame Hugo. And then they turned to the lovers of George Sand and their respective merits. That was the chief occupation of criticism just then: when they had ransacked the houses of great men, rummaged through their closets, turned out the drawers, ransacked the cupboards, they burrowed down to their inmost lives. The attitude of Monsieur de Lauzun lying flat under the bed of the king and Madame de Montespan was the attitude of criticism in its cult of history and truth—(everybody just then, of course, made a cult of truth). These young men were subscribers to the cult: no detail was too small for them in their search for truth. They applied it to the art of the present as well as to that of the past: and they analysed the private life of some of the more notorious of their contemporaries with the same passion for exactness. It was a queer thing that they were possessed of the smallest details of scenes which are usually

enacted without witnesses. It was really as though the persons concerned had been the first to give exact information to the public out of their great devotion to the truth."

THE POETIC DRAMA

"There were poets in France. There were even great poets. But the theatre was not for them. It was for the versifiers...Christopher saw Princesses who were virtuously promiscuous, who prostituted themselves for their honour, who were compared with Christ ascending Calvary:—friends who deceived their friends out of devotion to them:—glorified triangular relations:—heroic cuckoldry: (the cuckold, like the blessed prostitute, had become a European commodity...the cuckold never appeared without a halo.). And Christopher saw also lovely damsels torn between passion and duty: their passion bade them follow a new lover: duty bade them stay with the old one, an old man who gave them money and was deceived by them. And in the end they plumped heroically for duty. Christopher could not see how duty differed from sordid interest: but the public was satisfied. The word duty was enough for them: they did not insist on having the thing itself: they took the author's word for it.

"The summit of art was reached and the greatest pleasure was given when, most paradoxically, sexual immorality and Cornelian heroics could be combined. In that way every need of the Parisian public was satisfied: mind, senses, rhetoric. But it is only just to say that the public was fonder even of words than of lewdness. Eloquence could send it into ecstasies. It would have suffered anything for a fine tirade. Virtue or vice, heroics hobnobbing with the basest prurience, there was no pill that it would not swallow if it were gilded with sonorous rhymes and redundant words. Anything that came to hand was ground into couplets, antitheses, arguments; love, suffering, death. Nothing but phrases. It was all a game. ...They played at being artists. They played at being poets.

THE DEATH OF ART

"...Certain eclectic theatres—the very latest thing. There they saw murder, rape, madness, torture, eyes plucked out, bellies gutted,—anything to thrill the nerves, and satisfy the barbarism lurking beneath a too civilized section of the people. It had a great attraction for pretty women and men of the world,—the people who would go and spend whole afternoons in the stuffy courts of the Palais de Justice, listening to scandalous cases, laughing, talking and eating chocolates. But Christopher indignantly refused. The more closely he examined that sort of art, the more acutely he became aware of the odour that from the very first he had detected, faintly in the beginning, then more strongly, and finally it was suffocating: the odour of death.

"Death: it was everywhere beneath all the luxury and uproar. Christopher discovered the explanation of the feeling of repugnance with which certain French plays had filled him. It was not their immorality that shocked him. Morality, immorality, amorality,—all these words mean nothing...To be healthy was the great thing...The writers of Paris were unhealthy: or if any of them happened to be healthy, the chances were that

he was ashamed of it; he disguised it and did his best to catch some disease. Their sickness was not shown in any particular feature of their art:—the love of pleasure, the extreme license of mind or the universal trick of criticism which examined and dissected every idea that was expressed. All these things could be—and were as the case might be,—healthy or unhealthy. If death was there, it did not come from the material, but from the use these people made of it; it was in the people themselves—when Christopher impatiently shook off the yoke of the great Masters of the past, when he waged war against the aesthetics and the morality of the Pharisees, it was not a game to him as it was to these men of intellect: and his revolt was directed only towards life, the life of fruitfulness, big with the centuries to come. With these people all tended to sterile enjoyment. Sterile, sterile, sterile. That was the key to the enigma. Mind and senses were fruitlessly debauched. A brilliant act full of wit and cleverness,—a lovely form, in truth, a tradition of beauty, impregnable seated, in spite of foreign alluvial deposits—a theatre which was a theatre, a style which was a style, authors who knew their business, writers who could write, a fine skeleton of an art, and a thought that had been great. But a skeleton. Sonorous words ringing phrases the metallic clang of ideas hurtling down the void, witticisms, minds haunted by sensuality and senses numbed with thought. It was all useless, save for the sport of egoism. It led to death. It was a phenomenon analogous to the frightful decline in the birth-rate of France, which Europe was observing—and reckoning—in silence. So much wit, so much cleverness, so many acute senses, all wasted and wasting in a sort of shameful onanism! They had no notion of it, and wished to have none. They laughed...He liked them even less when they tried to take themselves seriously: and nothing hurt him more than to see victors, who regarded art as no more than an instrument of pleasure giving themselves airs as priests of a disinterested religion.

"We are artists", said Sylvain Kohn once more complacently. "We follow art for art's sake. Art is always pure: everything in art is chaste. We

explore life as tourists, we find every thing amusing. We are amateurs of rare sensations, lovers of beauty."

"You are hypocrites," replied Christopher bluntly. "Excuse my saying so. I used to think my own country had a monopoly. In Germany our hypocrisy consists in always talking of idealism while we think of nothing but our interests, and we even believe that we are idealists while we think of nothing but ourselves. But you are much worse: you cover your national lewdness with the names of Art and Beauty (with capitals)... Art for art's sake? That's a fine faith! But it is the faith of the strong. Art! To grasp life, as the eagle claws its prey, to bear it up into the air, to rise with it into the serenity of space! For that you need talons, great wings, and a strong heart... Art for art's sake! Oh, wretched men! Art is no common ground for the feet of all who pass it by. Why, it is a pleasure, it is the most intoxicating of all. But it is a pleasure which is only won at the cost of a strenuous fight: it is the laurel-wreath which crowns the victory of the strong. Art is life tamed. Art is the Emperor of life. To be Caesar a man must have the soul of Caesar. But you are only limelight kings: you are playing a part, and do not even deceive yourselves. And, like those actors, who turn to profit their deformities, you manufacture literature out of your own deformities and those of your public. Lovingly do you cultivate the diseases of your people, their fear of effort, their love of pleasure, their sensual minds, their chimerical humanitarianism, everything in them that drugs the will, everything in them that saps their power for action. You deaden their minds with the fumes of opium. Behind it all is death: you know it, but you will not admit it. Well, I tell you: where death is, there art is not. Art is the spring of life. But even the most honest of your writers are so cowardly that even when the bandage is removed from their eyes, they pretend not to see: they have the effrontery to say: "It is dangerous. I admit: it is poisonous: but it is full of talent." It is as if a judge, sentencing a hooligan, were to say: "He is a blackguard, certainly: but he has so much talent!"

THERE AND THEN

(From the Bengali of Rabindranath Tagore)

By NAGENDRANATH GUPTA

Where my moving steps come to a halt,
There open the doors of the boundless.
Where my song is extinguished.
There is song's silent sea.
Where darkness veils my eyes,
There shines the light of the world unseen.

Outside the flower blooms and falls in the dust.
In the heart grows the ambrosial fruit.
When work grows big as it moves along,
Then comes to it large leisure.
When the I in me is finished and is still,
Then I become manifest in thee.

INDIAN Womanhood



B.

SRIMATI MALATILATA SEN topped the list of successful candidates in Sanskrit (standing first-class first) at the last M.A. Examination of the Calcutta University. She stood first in all the eight papers. Mrs. Sen took first-class honors in Sanskrit at the B.A. Examination and passed the Intermediate and Matriculation Examinations in the first division.

B.A. Examination she got first-class honours in the same subject.

MISS RAJUL GUJAR of the Poona Agricul-



Srimati Malatilata Sen



Mrs G. Pavitran

SRIMATI BINA GHOSH stood first (first class) in Mathematics at the last M.A. Examination of the Benares Hindu University. In the

B



Srimati Bina Ghosh



Miss Shamkumari Nehru



Miss S. Das



Miss Kalyanikutti Ammal

tural College stood first at the last intermediate Examination in Agriculture from the Bombay University. We hope other lady-students will follow her example and win academic distinction and strive for the advancement of agriculture.

MISS SHAMKUMARI NEHRU, daughter of Pandit Shamlal Nehru and niece of Pandit Motilal Nehru after a brilliant academic career has headed the list of successful candidates at the last L.L.B. examination of the Allahabad University. She will join the Allahabad High Court and serve her apprenticeship under Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru.

MISS KALYANI KUTTI AMMAL, B.A., daughter of Mr. E. Narayana Nair, Vakil has topped the list of successful candidates in History and Economics (Honours Course) of the Madras University. She has been awarded *Todhunter Prize* and *Akkama Garu Gold Medal*.

The following ladies have been nominated to local bodies in different provinces. MISS S.



Miss Rajul Gujar

DAS (Indore Municipal Corporation), MRS. G. PAVITRAM, B.A., L.T. (Ernakulam Municipality, Madras).

TWO MAY-MEMORIES .

MOZOOMDAR AND VEERESALINGAM

BY. PRINCIPAL V. RAMAKRISHNA RAO, M.A., L.T., PH. D.

VANGA and Andhra have long stood close knit by the spiritstrings of the Theistic Movement in Modern India. In the Saints' Calendar of the New Church, sacred in common to both, the 27th. of May shines out prominent as the focussing point of two hallowed memories those of two worthy leaders called to rest on the same day, though at an interval of nearly a decade and a half, from either province and community. Pratap Chandra Mozoomdar and Kandukuri Veeresalingam, certainly, are, and will continue to be, stars of the first magnitude, however wide apart in the firmament of the Liberal Faith. No two personalities can readily be thought of as more dissimilar in temperament and training, in talent and taste. Yet, even as a study in contrasts, these two images, placed side by side, afford an object lesson strikingly interesting and profitably

significant. First, they bring home the reality of the Pauline experience of one spirit amid a diversity of gifts. They illustrate, in flesh and blood, the truth of Mozoomdar's own words: "God is one but to each man He has a new phase, a new form, a new message, a new kind of personality" (*The Silent Pastor*). Next, in particular, they demonstrate the capacity of a Church like the Brahmo Samaj to serve alike as an ark of shelter and a vineyard of service for types of living spirits never so opposite.

In the

OUTER CONDITIONS

of life in general, one cannot fail to observe the clear beginnings of the difference between the two great men we contemplate to-day with grateful veneration. While both belonged practically to the same formative period

of Indian Renaissance in this age, Mozoomdar saw the light 8 years earlier in 1840 and Veeresalingam closed his eyes 14 years later in 1919. How serenely impressive was Mozoomdar's physical frame, a stalwart statuesque figure imposingly refined with an all too unfurrowed countenance: You turned round to Veeresalingam, and what did you find but an unprepossessing rustic dilapidated and broken up into wrinkles'. As for subjection to the ills of the flesh, if the one specialised in diabetes, the other was an expert in asthma. In garb and garment, the former was wont to be as clean-cut as the latter, perhaps, was clumsy. Predominantly Hindu with a clear impress also of the Greek in his interior, Mozoomdar might well be regarded as wholly Greek in his exterior. On the other hand, quite an embodiment of the Hebrew in his interior, Veeresalingam remained out and out Hindu in his exterior. Here, the qualifying clauses about the inward build become necessary to foreshadow how the search for, and fellowship with, the Spirit of God and, again, the struggle for, and satisfaction in, the Kingdom of Righteousness made the two what they essentially were in their respective spheres of life and work. It was rightly given to Mozoomdar to enjoy almost world-wide fame in his own day after those three successful tours through the Western mansion of our Father's Home, as Keshub would piously christen the Occident. As for Veeresalingam, it were only to be devoutly wished that the due need of celebrity had made his golden deeds and his sovereign worth more intimately familiar in far horizons beyond Southern India.

Lines of divergence are, likewise, traceable between the

EARLY CAREERS

of the two. In neither was the child father to the man that is, in the strict sense of the terms. Frivolity and profanity through loose associations were soon replaced in youthful Mozoomdar by earnestness and devoutness, as witness the prayer scrolls and devotional prepossessions even of the working-hours of Bank service. So that, his friend and admirer through after-life, Dr. Samuel J. Barrows (President of the Chicago Parliament of Religions), could testify how "Even at a very early age his religious nature began to feel the mystic thrill and prophecy of

the God-life." But a staunch adherence to custom-ridden orthodoxy formed a characteristic trait self-announced in Veeresalingam even as an adult. Accordingly, the later story is the process of conversion, in one case from secularism to religion and in the other from conservatism to liberalism. Mozoomdar herein possessed a rare advantage—the beckoning example and guidance of superior spirits. Of the two personal influences that wrought mightily upon him, he himself referred, in the congenial language of art, to Maharshi as a "finished piece of workmanship" and to Brahmananda as "unfinished and yet growing" at that stage. Furthermore, about the latter, "He became to me really a part of myself, the better part. He was like another self to me, a higher, holier, diviner self." One other testimony will suffice, not to linger long over this romantic and inspiring chapter of spiritual comradeship.

"Placed in my youth by the side of a very pure and powerful character whose external conditions were similar to my own, I was helped to feel the freshness of my susceptibilities by the law of contrast that I was painfully imperfect and needed very much the grace of a saving God."

THE ORIENTAL CHRIST

To Veeresalingam, however, with none to look up to and none to lean upon, belongs all the honour of a self-evolved, self-regulated soul save for faint, far-off reports of a Vidyasagar and a Vishnu Sastri elsewhere in this continent of a country. And just as, in earlier life, it had been Mozoomdar's high privilege to be received into the welcoming embrace of other outstretched arms, so even in later life, when he came to be reckoned among the 'anointed', he was one such only behind and beside others of varying degrees of power. But this was all denied to lonely Veeresalingam—himself the struggler and the climber, the path-finder and the torch-bearer, the pioneer and the organiser, from beginning to end in a 'benighted province.' Whereas no deprecation is implied in the least as regards Mozoomdar, this is a circumstance which must redound the more to the glory of Veeresalingam and call forth the undying gratitude of the nation towards the patriarch of public life in Andhradesa. Mozoomdar was initiated into Brahmoism in the last year of his' teens. Thenceforward, except for the breach with the ancestral home when he dared openly

to take his wife to Devendranath's house at Keshub's investiture with the ministership, his struggles through life (as reviewed in *Aseesh*) were, for the most part, inward wrestles with all the subtle-shaped brood of sin and sordidness. Veeresalingam entered the war-path at a comparatively later period in life with his solemnisation of the first widow marriage in the Southern Presidency in 1881, although, as a matter of fact, he had long since burnished his armour and blown his bugle. The formal discarding of the 'sacred thread' and acceptance of *Brahmadharmadeeksha* did not come about, too, till so late as 1906. And the tale of these long years, as recounted in *Sweeyacharitra* is the tale of fire-baptism—of fierce social persecution, aye, of the crucifixion of the spirit inch by inch. Naturally therefore, the real man is revealed, in Mozoomdar's case in the heart-beats and in the Himalayan communings, and in Veeresalingam's in the clash of arms and in the dint of blows given and taken.

As we step, next, into the precincts of

HOME LIFE

we come upon a remarkable phenomenon of parallelism in the two careers. The partners in life to whom Mozoomdar and Veeresalingam were wedded, as by custom bound, at such tender ages as 18 and 11, 12 and 8, respectively, proved, by force of love to be equally devoted companions and comforters through the sahara-weariness of solitary, childless life. Forsooth, the gracious tribute of unqualified acknowledgment, "If it had not been for her, I could not have got on at all", might literally be applied to Rajyalakshammamma as to Soudamani Devi. Its touching note is what resounds through the dedicatory lines in *Sweeyacharitra*.

Then, as to the

WRITINGS

the same classical taste is apparent here as there, with the purest graces of elegance and finish, dignity and sweetness, not without freedom and naturalness. There is also alike the purposiveness of letters as a vehicle of self-communication. Mozoomdar points thus to the mainspring of all the forth-puttings of his own literary energy: "The religious impulses that come to me open all my powers of expression and thought. My religion is entirely and absolutely the source of my education, character and power of

speech." In fact, his is the sublime Logos—doctrine of the ancient Greek philosopher which he re-enunciates in the affirmation, "All language is merely worked out in conceiving, expressing and glorifying God". (*The Spirit of God*). Veeresalingam, it is true, dwells not equally upon the deep things of the spirit within the wide range of his ten volumes, a unique collection by themselves in Telugu literature. But as the preacher in Mozoomdar nobly vindicates the ways of God to man, so the protester in Veeresalingam powerfully enforces the will of God among men, the dynamic of inspiration being the same behind both. Hence, 'Thy words are fresh glimpses of the True' is our free acknowledgment to the one, even as 'Thy words are half-battles for the Truth' is our full acclaim, to the other. In the fulfilment; accordingly, of their separate missions, Mazoomdar's pen is verily the skilled painter's brush, creative artist as he is in English prose; Veeresalingam's, on one side, is the flowing fount of mercury and, on the other—what a jewelled Excaliber of magic, what a puissant sword of the Crusades, also recalling now the resistless axe of Parasurama, now the crushing club of Bhima and again the unerring bow of Arjuna!

In fine, the

SPECIAL VOCATION

of each cannot be more expressively described than by the coinage of his own mint. The priest and preacher will always be cherished as our 'Interpreter' and our '(Silent) Pastor'. With something in him of the trio of Thikkana Brothers—Kavya Thikkana, Khadga Thikkana and Karya Thikkana, the editor of the *Vivekavardhani* and founder of the 'Hitakarini Samaj' will in his turn, be enshrined in the memory as our '*Vivekavardhana*' and our '*Hitakari*'. "Thinker, prophet, reformer" this is the summing up of the one in the works of Dr. Barrows, his renowned admirer. Nothing short of "Kin to Providence"—this is the appellation of the other in the estimate of Sir Dr. R. Venkata Ratnam, his worthy coadjutor. The *sadhak* and the *acharya* we designate as our spiritual mystic; the hero and the humanist as our social mystic. And in relation to both alike, we herein imply by mysticism not merely the theoretical side of it as the Science of Reality, according to Coventry Patmore's definition, but also the vaster practical aspect of it agreeably to

Edmund Holmes's exposition in last April's Hibbert Journal: "There is more of art than of science, more of practice than of theory, more of feeling than of thought in the mystic's handling of his subject." Mozoomdar and Veeresalingam were at one about the basic truth that social evils, in their ultimate analysis, are due to spiritual causes and require to be spiritually healed. Only, in this healing and regenerative process, the former, alike by message and example, revealed to his generation how spiritual things are spiritually discerned. The latter went forth, rousing the social conscience with the prophetic strain

"Cursed be the social wants that sin against
the strength of youth !
Cursed be the social lies that warp us
from the living truth !"

There is, it is believed, enough in the recorded word to support the characterisation of the

DISTINCTIVE OUTLOOK

of Mozoomdar as one of subjective idealism and of Veeresalingam as one of objective rationalism. In the former, how happily the keynote is struck in the autobiographical statement, "My utterances are only my personal record"! This same feature is reiterated in the writer's own account of the scope of his *magnum opus*, *The Spirit of God*: "In His name and glory I have only tried to describe His dealings with me". Even the headings of its chapters—"Sense of the Unseen", "Spiritual Power of the Senses"; "The Spirit in the Spirit" *etc.* afford a sure clue to the character of the genius that has thereby enriched the worlds' religious classics. The whole of *Heart-Beats* is there, again, with its self-reflections from the realms of inward meditation as evidence both of the intense subjectivity and of the lofty idealism. Also, according to the marvellous development of Keshub's concept, recognised by Dr. Barrows as an original contribution to Christology in *The Oriental Christ*, even the "present relationship to the soul and sympathy of Christ"—"the meat and drink of my soul"—the recompense of that period of "special isolation" in the 27th year of his age—constitutes a historic landmark in Mozoomdar's subjective realisation of ideal humanity. Doubtless, he was far from being unmindful of the values of objective truth. If proof of this were needed, it could be found,

clenching the conclusion, in his own statement of the very occasion for the *Aids to Moral Character*. "History and biography", he says, "have much greater value than aphorisms and essays. Deeds and examples affect the mind of youth everywhere but nowhere so much as in India, where the doers of good deeds and possessors of virtue are generally invested with a mystical semi-divine glow". At the same time, to quote once again from Dr. Barrows, "Mr. Mozoomdar is so completely identified with his work and so habitually lives in the contemplation of universal principles and the Universal Life that he shrinks from bringing into contrast concrete elements of individual history". Consequently, taken up more with spirit—perceptions than with mind-processes, Mozoomdar is among those to whom we repair, not to know the philosophy of faith but to witness the faith of philosophy. The common foreword to every utterance of his runs thus in invisible ink: *Om Brahmadadino vadanti*. No so with Veeresalingam—the Akshay Kumar Dutt of Andhra Brahmoism as of Telugu Prose Literature. His pages are packed with close reasoning. Trenchant and crushing in argument, he is a true Titan in controversy, his armoury abounding evermore in all the resources of wit and humour, banter and irony, sarcasm and satire. The admirable discourses against Caste, Idolatry, the Transmigration of Souls and the Infallibility of Scriptures are some of the instances in point, besides the formidable Widow-Marriage Appeals on grounds of scripture, reason and expediency. As we have it on his own authority, Mozoomdar drank deep of the springs of both literature and philosophy during his editorial charge of *The Indian Mirror*. Yet, his writings bear scarcely any trace of formal, systematic philosophy, while they are redolent with the perfume of literature. Nor is there to be found any deep-built theology in Veeresalingam either, though a working principle of faith lies imbedded in the works as in the life. Mozoomdar's religion is the religion of psychology. Veeresalingam's religion is the religion of common sense. Among brother-theists in the West, Mozoomdar's affinities are with Francis Newman of *The Soul*, the episode of their personal fellowship forming part of the well-known continental experiences of our Apostle to the West. Veeresalingam's reflex is furnished by Charles

Voysey of the Church Militant. Incidentally, perhaps, it may be suggestively added in this context that, if Mozoomdar reminds one of Newman in England, Keshub—not, of course, the mature Keshub—recalls Theodore Parker of America. Mozoomdar's was the Brahmoism of Realisation, and Veeresalingam's the Brahmoism of Reformation, whereas in both the Brahmoism of Regeneration had been previously reached soon enough to be early made the starting-point in the career. It is as though with Mozoomdar religion was an end instead of a means; with Veeresalingam it was a means to an end. Life, as conceived by the former, is the realisation of religion and its beatitude. Religion, as understood by the latter, is the realisation of life and its efficiency. "Self-realisation through disinterested service of the commonweal" is Sir Dr. Venkata Ratnam's paraphrase of the ideal of the school which he fitly identifies with the name of Veeresalingam. As already indicated, superstitions having been sloughed off, if ever they had any hold, and right beliefs and ideals having grown to be axiomatic comparatively earlier and the surrounding atmosphere itself being differently constituted, we hear far, far less of the destructive blast, the protestant note, in Mozoomdar than in Veeresalingam, the life-long denunciator of externalism and ecclesiasticism, of the tyranny of custom, the hollowness of cant and the subtleness of corruption. It were hard to fix upon more flaming diatribes than Veeresalingam's memorable apostrophes to *Duracharapisacham* (the Demon of Evil Custom) indited with a pen of fire in the Widow Marriage Appeals. If Mozoomdar set himself wholly to temple-service, Veeresalingam had to be occupied largely with jungle-clearance. To light the lamp of faith, to ring the bell of fervour, to burn the incense of devotion, to sing the hymn of praise, to chant the canticle of love, to blow the conch of peace—these were the offices of the one. To fell down stifling Upas-trees, to burn up rank brush-wood, to hunt down ravenous beasts, to destroy venomous reptiles, to bore impassable hills, to weed out pricking thorns—these were among the tasks of the other. To say among the tasks is essential, inasmuch as the jungle-clearance was nothing if not preliminary to the garden-culture that strove to rear a very Eden in our midst. Hence "thro' the centuries let a people's voice" attest,

"With honour, honour, honour, honour to him,
Eternal honour to his name".

how the good husbandman who cleared the tares sowed also the wheat and wore himself out in training the struggling, in pruning the exuberant, in watering the dropping, in tilling the fallow, in protecting the fruit-bearing, in gathering in the ripening—aye, in diverse works of noble note! Eastern introspection *antardrishti* and Western practicality *Karyadeeksha*: here, then, are typified the two hemispheres of our orb of perfection. While Veeresalingam's religion of humanity subserved our 'domestic mission' in the Homeland, Mozoomdar's religion of harmony carried our 'foreign mission' across the waters and raised it to its rightful status when he was elected to lead the Parliament of Religions in its opening prayer.

One or two more points of marked contrast can be but barely touched upon before closing. A living communion with Nature in the true Wordsworthian mood of 'wise passiveness' was one of the constant preoccupations of the wonder-worshiper whose magnificent pen-and-ink reproductions of the Niagara Falls so beautifully adorn the *Sketches of a Tour Round the World* and of the *dhyanyogi* the bulk of whose profounder works were reared on the hill-top of Kur-seong and whose expositions of 'The Spirit in Nature' and 'Kinship in Nature' challenge acceptance as part of the Apocalypse of the Age. On the other hand, despite exquisite poetic touches about Nature in his verse productions, the conflicts with Man out of the love of Man crowded out such communion with Nature in the *Karmayogin* of the Andhras, their Vidyasagar as well as Dayasagar. Again, if *Heart-Beats* has been rightly appraised by Dr. Barrows as "the most remarkable devotional book since that of Thomas A. Kempis", the collocation of these two names would seem to justify itself also on another and a minor ground—the common absence of humour. As to the originator of those novel varieties of Telugu Composition, the *Prahasanms*, *Vyavaharadharmabodhini*, *Satyaraja's Travels* and *Rajasekharacharitra*, it can safely be claimed that he has surely no superiors and scarcely any equals in the field of humour, reproducing the eighteenth century vein, now of Swift and now of Goldsmith. Lastly, if Mozoomdar won laurels everywhere as one of India's foremost orators to crown his eminence as a writer, Veeresalingam,

who, like Goldsmith again, touched nothing he did not adorn, excelled only by the wizard-wand of that pain which clung to the hand right up to the last breath.

Now, to bring these rambling thoughts to their due

CONCLUSION

If History is made up of the Biographies of Great Men and Great Men are no other than God's Men, the life-stories, as told by themselves, of two such of God's Men as Mozoomdar and Veeresalingam must acquire for us a far greater value than any of their works. *Ascesh* and *Sweeyacharitra* thus taking rank among the foremost tokens of the redemptive triumph of *Brahmadharma*, we do well to feel that, were these alone extant out of all Brahmic literature, in the company of Rammohun's Autobiographical Note, Devendranath's Spiritual Autobiography, Keshub's *Jeeran Veda*, Sivanath's *Atma-*

charit, Rabindranath's *Jeevansmriti* and the like, we could, over again, build upon them, like edifices upon a ground-work, the whole theology and history, liturgy and hymnology of a century of Brahmoism, aye, of modern Indian thought and life. Mozoomdar and Veeresalingam have both lived and died without any issue from their loins. Each nevertheless does possess his own progeny in spiritual discipleship the one, though not to the same extent as the person-cult of his own friend, philosopher and guide; and the other, too, though oftentimes damned with faint praise and even beset with his own Peters and Judases.

A far, far cry all this—do you say? from 'Peace Cottage' Calcutta, to 'Ananda Gardens', Rajahmundry! But even as the Ganges and the Jumna spring out of the self-same heights and, after varied courses, mingle and merge and reach their common close in the one only main, so do Peace and Bliss, Bliss and Peace!

AUROBINDO GHOSH

By RABINDRANATH TAGORE

FOR a long time I had a strong desire to meet Aurobindo Ghosh. It has just been fulfilled. I feel that I must write down the thoughts that have come to my mind.

In the Christian Scripture it has been said:—"In the beginning there was the Word." The Word takes form in creation. It is not the calendar which introduces a new era. It is the Word, leading man to the path of a higher manifestation, a richer reality.

In the beginning and end of all great utterances in our scriptures we have the word Om. It has the meaning of self-acknowledgement of Truth, it is the breath of the Eternal.

From some great sea of idea, a tidal wave tumultuously broke upon Europe carrying on its crest the French Revolution. It was a new age, not because the oppressed of that time in France stood against their oppressors, but because that age had in its

beginning the Word which spoke of a great moral liberation for all humanity.

Mazzini and Garibaldi ushered in a new age of awakening in Italy, not because of the external fact of a change in the political condition of that country, but because they gave utterance to the Word, which did not merely enjoin formal acts, but inspired an inner creative truth. The feeling of touch, with the help of which a man gathers in darkness things that are immediate to him, exclusively belongs to himself; but the sunlight represents the great touch of the universe; it is for the needs of every one, and it transcends the needs of all individuals. This light is the true symbol of the Word.

One day science introduced a new age to the Western world, not because she helped man to explore nature's secrets, but because she revealed to him the universal aspect of reality in which all individual facts find their eternal background,

because she aroused in him the loyalty to truth that could defy torture and death. Those who follow the modern development of science know that she has truly brought us to the threshold of another new age, when she takes us across things to the mystic shrine of light where sounds the original Word of Creation.

In ancient India, the age of creation began with the transition from ritual practices to spiritual wisdom. It sent its call to the soul, which creates from its own abundance; and men woke up and said, that only those truly live, who live in the bosom of the Eternal. This is the Word spoken from the heart of that age: "Those who realise Truth, realise immortality."

In the Buddhist age, also, the Word came with the message of utmost sacrifice, of a love that is unlimited. It inspired an ideal of perfection in man's moral nature, which busied itself in creating for him a world of emancipated will.

The Word is that which helps to bring forth towards manifestation the unmanifest immense in man. Nature urges animals to restrict their endeavour in earning their daily wages of living. It is the Word which has rescued man from that enclosure of a narrow livelihood to a wider freedom of life. The dim light in that world of physical self-preservation is for the world of night; and men are not nocturnal beings.

Time after time, man must discover new proofs to support the faith in his own greatness, the faith that gives him freedom in the Infinite. It is realised anew every time that we find a man whose soul is luminously seen through the translucent atmosphere of a perfect life. Not the one who has the strength of an intellect that reasons, a will that plans, the energy that works, but he whose life has become one with the Word, from whose being is breathed Om, the response of the everlasting yes.

The longing to meet such a person grows stronger when we find in men around us the self-mistrust which is spiritual nihilism, producing in them an indecent pride in asserting the paradox that man is to remain an incorrigible brute to the end of his days, that the value of our ideals must be judged by a standard which is that of the market price of things.

When, as today, truth is constantly being subordinated to purposes that have

their sole meaning in a success hastily snatched up from a mad scramble for immediate opportunities our greed becomes uncontrollable. In its impatience it refuses to modulate its pace to the rhythm that is inherent in a normal process of achievement, and exploits all instruments of reckless speed, including propaganda of delusion. Ambition tries to curtail its own path, for its gain is at the end of that path, while truth is permeatingly one with the real seeking for her, as a flower with its stem. But, used as a vehicle of some utility, robbed of her love's wooing, she departs, leaving that semblance of utility a deception.

Ramachandra, the hero of the great epic Ramayana, during the long period his of wanderings in the wilderness, came to realise, helped by constant difficulties and dangers, the devotion of his wife Sita, his companion in exile. It was the best means of gaining her in truth through a strenuously intimate path of ever-ripening experience. After his return to his kingdom, urged by an immediate political necessity, he asked Sita to give an instant proof of her truth in a magic trial by fire before the suspicious multitude. Sita refused, knowing that such a trial could only offend truth by its callous unreality, and she disappeared for ever.

It brings to my mind the opening line of an old Bengali poem which my friend Kshitimohan Sen offered to me from his rich store of rare sayings. It may be translated thus:

"O cruel man of urgent needs,
Must thou in thy haste scorch by fire the
mind that is still in bud?"

It takes time to prove the spirit of perfection lying in wait in a mind that is yet to mature. But a cruel urgency takes the quick means of a forced trial and the mind itself disappears leaving the crowd to admire the gorgeousness of the preparation. When we find everywhere the hurry of this greed dragging truth tied to its chariot-wheels along the dusty delusion of shortcuts, we feel sure that it would be futile to set against it a mere appeal of reason, but that a true man is needed who can maintain the patience of a profound faith against a constant temptation of urgency and hypnotism of a numerical magnitude.

We badly need today for the realisation

of our human dignity a person who will preach respect for man in his completeness. It is a truism to say that man is *not* simple, that his personality consists of countless elements that are bewilderingly miscellaneous. It is possible to denude him of his wealth of being in order to reduce him to a bare simplicity that helps to fit him easily to a pattern of a parsimonious life. But it is important to remember that man *is* complex, and therefore his problems can only be solved by an adjustment, and not by any suppression of the varied in him or by narrowing the range of his development. By thinning it to an unmeaning repetition, eliminating from it the understanding mind and earnestness of devotion we can make our prayer simple and still simpler by bringing it down to a mechanical turning of the prayer wheel as they have done in Tibet. Such a process lightens the difficulty of a work by minimising the humanity of the worker. Teachers who are notoriously successful in guiding their pupils through examinations know that teaching can be made simple by cramming and hushing the questioning mind to sleep. It hastens success through a ruthless retrenchment of education. The present-day politics has become a menace to the world, because of its barbarous simplicity produced by the exclusion of the moral element from its method and composition. Industrialism also has its cult of an ascetic miserliness that simplifies its responsibility by ignoring the beautiful. On the other hand, the primitive methods of production attain their own simplicity through a barren negation of science and, to that extent, a poor expression of humanity. We recognise our true teacher when he comes not to lull us to a minimum vitality of spirit but to rouse us to the heroic fact that man's path of fulfilment is difficult, "*durgam pathas tat.*" Animals drifting on the surface of existence have their life that may be compared to a simple raft composed of banana trunks held together. But human life finds its symbol in a perfectly modelled boat which has its manifold system of oars, helm and sails, towing ropes and poles for the complex purpose of negotiating with the three elements of water, earth and air. For its construction it claims from science a principle of balance based

upon countless observations and experiments, and from our instinct for art the decorations that are utterly beside the purpose with which they are associated. It gives expression to the intelligent mind which is carefully accurate in the difficult adjustment of various forces and materials and to the creative imagination that delights in the harmony of forms for its own sake. We should never be allowed to forget that spiritual perfection comprehends all the riches of life and gives them a great unity of meaning.

While my mind was occupied with such thoughts, the French steamer on which I was travelling touched Pondicherry and I came to meet Aurobindo. At the very first sight I could realise that he had been seeking for the soul and had gained it, and through this long process of realisation had accumulated within him a silent power of inspiration. His face was radiant with an inner light and his serene presence made it evident to me that his soul was not crippled and cramped to the measure of some tyrannical doctrine, which takes delight in inflicting wounds upon life. He, I am sure, never had his lessons from the Christian monks of the ascetic Europe, revelling in the pride of that self-immolation which is a twin sister of self-aggrandisement joined back to back facing opposite directions.

I felt that the utterance of the ancient Hindu Rishi spoke from him of that equanimity which gives the human soul its freedom of entrance into the All. I said to him, "You have the Word and we are waiting to accept it from you India will speak through your voice to the world, 'Hearken to me'."

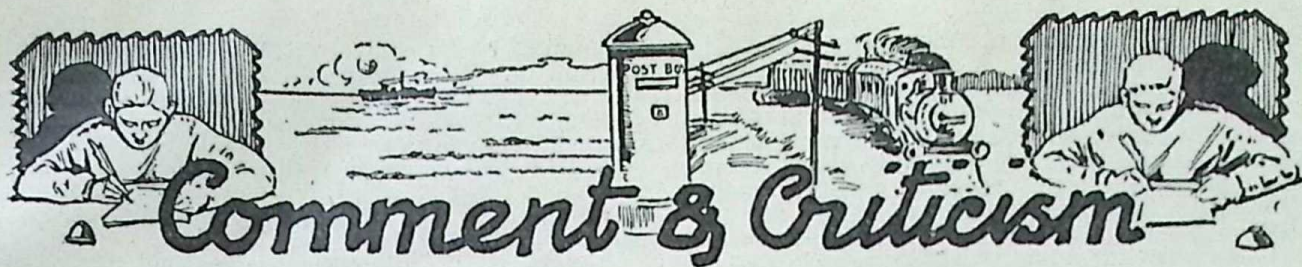
In her earlier forest home Sakuntala had her awakenment of life in the restlessness of her youth. In the later hermitage she attained the fulfilment of her life. Years ago I saw Aurobindo in the atmosphere of his earlier heroic youth and I sang to him,

"Aurobindo, accept the salutation from Rabindranath."

Today I saw him in a deeper atmosphere of a reticent richness of wisdom and again sang to him in silence,

"Aurobindo, accept the salutation from Rabindranath."

S.S. Chantilly,
May 29, 1928.



[This section is intended for the correction of inaccuracies, errors of fact, clearly erroneous views, misrepresentations, etc., in the original contributions, and editorials published in this Review or in other papers criticizing it. As various opinions may reasonably be held on the same subject, this section is not meant for the airing of such differences of opinion. As, owing to the kindness of our numerous contributors, we are always hard pressed for space, critics are requested to be good enough always to be brief and to see that whatever they write is strictly to the point. Generally, no criticism of reviews and notices of books is published. Writers are requested not to exceed the limit of five hundred words.—Editor, *The Modern Review*.]

"Prof. Radhakrishnan on Indian Philosophy" : A Rejoinder

Mr. B. S. Guha should have been certain of the accuracy of his statements before rushing into print. The name of Rai Bahadur Sris Chandra Basu is conspicuous by its absence throughout Prof. Radhakrishnan's work. I would invite Mr. Guha to be so good as to point out the page which contains it.

Mr. Guha is ignorant of the fact that Rai Bahadur Sris Chandra Basu was not the author of "Patanjali" which is mentioned at the end of the chapter on Yoga System in Prof. Radhakrishnan's book. Pandit Ram Prasad, M.A., was the author of it. Sris Chandra Basu only contributed the foreword to it. This work forms Vol. IV of the *Sacred Books of the Hindus* series.

The Yoga Shastra or a treatise on Practical Yoga forms Vol. XV of the *Sacred Books of the Hindus* series and Sris Chandra Basu was its author. Prof. Radhakrishnan has, in my humble opinion, borrowed from this work without acknowledgement. Was it a sealed book to him?

As Mr. Guha has not categorically answered the questions contained in my letter on the subject published in the May number of *The Modern Review*, page 598, I repeat them here substantially :

1. Will Mr. Guha say whether Prof. Radhakrishnan is a practitioner or student of medicine and, as such, he hunted all the volumes of the *British Medical Journal* to find the extract from its issue of December 5, 1903, which he has given in footnote 4 of page 356 of his book?

I suggest that he has not done anything of the sort, but has copied it without acknowledgment from Rai Bahadur Sris Chandra Basu's *Introduction to Yoga Philosophy*, pp. 46-48, published in Vol. XV—part IV of the *Sacred Books of the Hindus* series. The extract he has given is a second-hand one and he was, therefore, bound in honour to mention the book to which he was indebted for it.

2. The Professor has referred in his work to Baladeva's *Govinda Bhasya* and *Prameya Ratnavali*. Has he consulted the original works, which, so far as I am aware, are printed in Bengali character, not in Devanagari? Rai Bahadur Sris Chandra Basu translated these works into English and

published them in the *Sacred Books of the Hindus* series as Vol. V. Was the Professor ignorant of the fact? Why has he not mentioned the book in his work?

I suggest that he derived his information about Baladeva from Basu's translations.

3. Is he not indebted to Sris Chandra Basu for his account of Vijnana Bhikshu's commentary on the Vedanta Sutras?

There is only one edition of this work, published in the Chowkhamba series at the expense of Sris Chandra Basu, who also made it known to the public by his translation of its introduction in the pages of the *Theosophist* for 1898.

The professor of philosophy should know the meritorious and original works on the Vedanta Philosophy written in Bengali when he writes a history of Indian Philosophy in Calcutta, the cultural centre of Bengal.

Mr. Guha sneeringly suggests that Bengali historians of Indian Philosophy should be taken to task for their ignorance of Tamil publications on the subject, because I had in my letter pointed out that Prof. Radhakrishnan had not done justice to several authors who have written on the Vedanta philosophy in Bengali. Mr. Guha is right. If there be good original Tamil works on philosophy, all historians of Indian philosophy, Bengali or non-Bengali, should certainly know and make use of their contents. Professor Radhakrishnan's philosophical dignity would not have been impaired if he had condescended to know and make use of Bengali publications on philosophy, because he is the premier professor of Indian philosophy in Bengal's premier university, at which some distinguished holders of the Sreegopal Basu Mallik Fellowship have delivered their lectures on Indian philosophy in Bengali. All philosophical writings in Sanskrit are not necessarily more valuable than all such writings in the current languages of India. Does the Professor know that Ram Mohun Roy wrote a commentary in Bengali on a Vedantic work?

Let me take an imaginary case. Suppose a German philosopher occupying the best endowed chair in Oxford wrote a history of philosophy in Latin and did not mention or make use of any philosophical publication in English. What would be thought of him? I know the cases of the Mysore Professor and the imaginary German one

are not on all fours; but they are sufficiently similar for my purpose.

Mr. Guha thinks that the writer of an authoritative work on philosophy need not know the history of a particular view. That is strange. Opinions may differ as to whether a philosophical writer should know the history of a particular view. But it cannot be laid down as a general proposition that the history of particular views need not be known. Those who claim to be authorities on a subject should certainly know with whom an idea, a hypothesis, a theory, an opinion, or a view originated, and who are mere repeaters or borrowers. How otherwise can the value of the labours of different workers be

ascertained? To compare great things with small, a writer on the history of Evolution should be acquainted with the works not only of modern authors but also with the Sankhya system and the views of some of the early Greek philosophers.

A man may be a "most distinguished student of philosophy" and may "enjoy a world-wide reputation as a thinker", but those facts may not ensure a particular work of his being creditable.

The selected bibliography does not name any translation of the Purva Mimamsa. So far there have been only three translations of it—one complete and two incomplete. The select bibliography does not mention any.

X. Y. Z.

SOME ASPECTS OF BUDDHIST PHILOSOPHY *

By PROF. S. N. DASGUPTA, M.A., Ph. D. (Cantab)

SANSKRIT scholarship is under a deep debt of gratitude to the works of Western scholars. The many-sided activities of Sanskrit research-ers of the present day would have been well-nigh impossible if occidental scholars had not opened so many new avenues and continued persistently their labour of love to unravel the mysteries of Indian civilisation, and culture. By their researches in Vedic philology and literature, their editing of the Pali canons, their connecting Tibetan and Chinese studies with Sanskrit, their archaeological discoveries in India, Central Asia, Turpan, Indo-China, Java and Bali and by their scholarly works in many other spheres of Sanskrit studies, they have opened up almost a new world of civilisation to the students of Ancient India. But in one sphere, namely, that of Indian philosophy their works have not however, been as remarkable, though in this field also they have been opening new sources of study for Buddhist researches by their translations from Tibetan and Chinese. The reason for their backwardness in Indian philosophy is primarily three-fold. Firstly, the Sanskrit of the philosophical texts and commentaries is often too difficult for them; secondly, most of the European Orientalists lack proper sympathy for Indian philosophical and religious thoughts; and thirdly, there are probably no European Orientalists who are also *bona fide* students of philosophy. As a rule, the European Orientalist is seldom able to understand a difficult piece of philosophical Sanskrit and when he tries to understand it he can proceed only philologically and most often misses the true philosophical import. This is enhanced by the fact that he starts, with a preconceived notion, implicit or explicit, that Indian philosophical or religious literature does not contain any such original or

deep thoughts, as might stimulate our present-day philosophical enquiries. His interest in Indian matters is almost wholly antiquarian and he is always satisfied with curious and antique aspects of Indian culture in his investigations. He seldom has proper respect for the thinkers whose thoughts he is trying to decipher and consequently great thoughts pass before his eyes while he is running after shadows. There are, however, a few notable exceptions, and Professor Stcherbatsky is one of them. He studied the old Nyāya at Darbhanga and Benares. He can speak in Sanskrit as fluently as a Benares Pundit. He is an excellent scholar of Tibetan. He knows half a dozen European languages almost as well as his own mother tongue. And above all, he has a genuine sympathy and high respect for Indian thoughts and thinkers and when he approaches Indian philosophy, he does so with the deep reverence of a humble learner. He has long been devoting himself to the study of mediaeval Buddhism, the Vaibhāṣikas, Sautrāntikas and the Mādhyamikas. His present work, *The Conception of Buddhist Nirvāṇa* has been published from the publishing office of The Academy of Sciences of the U.S.S.R. Leningrad, April, 1927. It may be considered as a sister volume to the author's *Central Conception of Buddhism* published by The Royal Asiatic Society, London 1924. The author was stimulated to write this work as a criticism of L. de la Vallée Poussin's *Nirvāṇa*, Paris 1925. The book contains 246 pages, of which only 62 pages are devoted to the main work of the book; 150 pages are devoted to the translation of Chapters I and XXV of Nāgārjuna's *Mādhyamikasūtra* and the *Prasannapadā* commentary by Candrakīrti, as an appendix. The remaining 34 pages form various indices of the book.

**The Buddhist Conception of Nirvāṇa* by Th. Stcherbatsky, Leningrad, 1927, and "*Nirvāṇa*" by L. de la Vallée Poussin Paris 1925.

One of the main theses of Professor L. de la Vallée Poussin, which Professor Stcherbatsky combats is that at the beginning Nirvāṇa meant a simple faith in the immortality of the soul, its

blissful survival in a paradise, a faith emerging from practices of obscure magic. I may quote here one or two passages where Prof. la Vallée Poussin tries to emphasise the view that the original conception of Nirvāṇa did not evolve in opposition to the Brahmanic view of a permanent state of liberation, but it itself meant an ever-living eternal deliverance as a positive state of supreme happiness. It is to be regarded as an invisible state of existence into which saints retired. Thus he says in his *Nirvāṇa* (Paris 1925, p. 57) "Surtout rien ne permet d'affirmer que le Nirvāṇa des bouddhistes fut conçu en opposition avec quelque théorie brāhmanique que ce soit. Le Nirvāṇa, Immortal ou Délivrance, nous apparaît comme une donnée rudimentaire, vierge de toute spéculation métaphysique, bien plutôt engagée dans le mythe que dans la métaphysique. Le Nirvāṇa est un séjour invisible où le saint disparaît, souvent au milieu des flames et dans une sorte d'apothéose." In support of it he refers to a passage in the *Udāna* VIII. 10, where the Buddha is represented as saying "On ne reconnaît pas où va le feu qui s'est peu à peu éteint: de même est-il impossible de dire où vont les saints parfaitement délivrés, qui ont traversé le torrent des désirs, qui ont atteint le bonheur inébranlable." He further holds that there has been a primitive Buddhism, very much different, even as it would seem, quite contrary to what later on finds its expression in the Pali Canon. Pessimism, Nihilism, Soul-denial, psychology without a soul, annihilation as ultimate end, all these features that mark out Buddhism among other religions Indian as well as non-Indian did not exist (*Nirvāṇa*, pp 17, 27, 33-34, 46, 52, 115-116, 125, 129, 132 etc.) He further considers Buddhism as a branch of yoga or asceticism, but as to the meaning of this yoga, he thinks, one feels uneasy when such a question is asked (rien de plus malaisé, p. 11.) But, yet on the next page, he informs us that this yoga was nothing but vulgar magic and thaumaturgy coupled with hypnotic practices (Nous pensons que le yoga est, dans les temps prébouddhiques, ce qu'il restera au cours de l'histoire; essentiellement un ensemble de pratiques en honneur dès les plus vieux âges de l'Inde aryenne ou autochtone, pratiques des sorciers et des thaumaturges, et dont il semble que la recherche des états hypnotiques soit le motif dominant). He further thinks that this yoga was a technical routine in itself quite foreign to every moral, religious or philosophic view—C'est une technique étrangère en soi à toute morale comme à toute vue religieuse ou philosophique (p. 12.) The yoga from which according to Prof. la Vallée-Poussin Buddhism sprang forth was thus this kind of yoga without any speculative tendencies. And the Buddhism of the Hinayāna remained in this condition beginning from the Mahāvagga up to Buddhaghosa as a yoga, almost without any alloy (p. 53.)

The objections against the views expressed in Prof. la Vallée-Poussin's *Nirvāṇa* as raised by Prof. Stcherbatsky in the first part (pp. 1-68) of his book under review are thus directed to two principal points viz, la Vallée-Poussin's theory that the early Buddhism was but a yoga of the thaumaturgical nature and that the conception of Nirvāṇa in early Buddhism was but a simple faith in soul's immortality. Prof. Stcherbatsky urges that there is no vagueness in the meaning of the word yoga.

The word yoga can be derived, in an objective sense (*yujyate etad iti yogah*), meaning the concentrated thought itself as a psychological condition, or in the instrumental sense (*yujyate anena iti yogah*), as the method through which this condition has been created, or in the locative sense (*yujyate tasmin iti yogah*), as the place where this concentrated thought has been produced. In the third sense the word yoga or more exactly the term samāpā'ti is used as a designation of the mystic words in all the eight planes of mystic existence where the denizens are eternally merged in trance. In the second sense yoga, rather the word samā'hi as the faculty of concentrated attention denotes a mystical power which can transfer the meditator to higher worlds and change life altogether. Yoga is neither, vulgar magic nor thaumaturgy but is in essence that concentrated meditation that induces a



Stcherbatsky

condition of quiescence. He then goes on explaining the method of yoga according to *Abhidharmakośa* of Vasubandhu (300 A. D.) and describes how in the incessantly changing elements, that produce delusion of a personality the struggle of moral progress between the good and bad inclinations takes place. Though the momentary elements of moral inclinations cannot really influence one another, yet in consequence of the predominance of the good elements the immoral elements are driven out. The immoral faculties or elements are of two kinds, one, that can be removed by insight or reason, (*dr̥ṣṭi-heya*) and the other that can be removed by concentrated attention only (*bhūvanū-heya*). The fully developed faculty or concentration becomes a mystic power which can transfer the individual into higher planes of existence or spheres of purified matter (*rūpa-dhātu*) or still

higher regions of pure spirits (*arūpa-dhātu*) with ethereal (*bhūsvara*) bodies. The denizens of these spiritual realms are merged in contemplation of some unique idea e. g., the infinity of space, the infinity of thought or of the void or in a dreamy semi-conscious state. Their condition is merely cataleptic. In this state since the meditator does not require any food, the sense-data of smell and taste do not exist for him. The feeling of hatred is totally absent. These beings have no need for clothes, they are provided with houses by their own karma. The phenomenon of sex is spiritualised and there are no organs of physical procreation; gross sexual passion does not at all exist though there may be delicate feelings. The birth of a new being is quite free from all pain and filth. The new born child does not come out of a female, and those who happen to be nearest to the place of his birth are his parents. But it is also possible that sages who are living on this earth can develop such mystic powers, that though their bodies may belong to this earth, they may attain powers of vision and sense objects of other higher worlds of the superior mystical meditators, referred to above. This shows that given a certain change, in the nature of one's existence, where the necessity of food, clothing and homes have been eliminated, there will be newer and superior spiritual elements forming the structure of his personality which are akin to those of the mystic meditators of the higher worlds. According to some schools the highest cataleptic states of trance are eternal (*asaṃskṛta*), i. e., they do not differ from Nirvāṇa. But, according to the majority of schools, Nirvāṇa is beyond even that. It is the absolute limit of life, the extinction even of this kind of the thinnest vestige of consciousness which is still left in the highest of all imaginable worlds of cataleptic trance. Apart from the above described, general functions of yoga, the Hīnayāna Buddhism also believes in the possibility of a sudden illumination by which the saint directly views the universe as an infinite continuity of single moments in gradual evolution towards final extinction. Arguing in the above manner Prof. Stecherbatsky holds that the doctrine of yoga is to be regarded as an "inseparable, inherent part of the pluralistic universe of separate elements (*dharma*) gradually evolving towards extinction," though the possibility is not excluded that the germ of the yoga doctrine is older than the Buddha himself. Continuing in the same strain Prof. Stecherbatsky demands:—"In any case there is no historically authenticated Buddhism without this theory, without the mystic worlds and its inherent part, the philosophic explanation of yoga. All yoga practices which had not this philosophic and moral aim, all sorcery and thaumaturgy, the Brahmanical sacrifices not excepted, were strongly condemned by the Buddha. They were considered as one of the cardinal sins. The details of the conditions in the worlds of the mystic and the degrees of mystic concentration have always given opportunities to much scholastic controversy between the schools. We can safely assert that within the pale of Hīnayāna Buddhism there is no place for trivial sorcery." (pp. 18, 19.)

Before passing to the discussion of Nirvāṇa, it may be considered desirable to review the views of the two great scholars of Buddhism, la Vallée-Poussin and Stecherbatsky, on yoga. Both of

them apply the word yoga to denote the earliest practices of concentration among the Buddhists. Prof. Stecherbatsky gives its threefold etymology in the accusative, instrumental, and locative senses. But is this application strictly correct? The word yoga can be derived from three different roots of different meanings, the intransitive verb *yuj* in the sense of concentration (*yuj samādhai*) the transitive verb *yuj*, to control (*yogayati*) and also from the transitive verb *yujir*, to connect (*yunakti*). The word yoga is formed by the addition of the suffix *ghaṇ*. Pāṇini's rule III. 3.19 allows the addition of the suffix *ghaṇ* for the formation of technical words in all cases-senses except the nominative, and as such Prof. Stecherbatsky is right in deriving the word yoga in three different senses. But yoga in the sense of *samādhi* or concentrated thought (*yuj samādhai*) cannot be formed in the accusative sense, as the root *yuj* of *yuj, samādhai* is intransitive. It does not also seem proper that yoga can be formed in the locative sense to denote the higher worlds, where the mystic meditation is performed, for the location of a meditative operation cannot be placed in a spatial world. Prof. Stecherbatsky has not indicated the source from which he has taken these derivations. But whatever may be the source the objections pointed out seem to be strong. The word yoga in the sense of *samādhi* cannot probably be found in earlier literature. The root *yuj* with the suffix *ghaṇ* irregularly forms another word *yoga* to denote periods of time and also parts of a chariot and in these senses the word *yoga* is pretty old as it is found in several places in the R̥gveda. The word *yoga* is sometimes found in the R̥gveda as in VII. 67. 8., but in the sense of journey or drive. In the *Satapatha-brāhmaṇa* 14, 7, 1, 11 the word *yoga* is used in connection with the word *ratha* in *Mahābhārata* in various senses derived from "connecting" (evidently from *yujir, yoge*). The word *yoga* is used also in the Kāṭha Upaniṣad (6. 11) to denote controlling of senses. The word is used several times in the *Gītā*, but in howsoever diverse senses, it may seem to have been used, they are all derived directly or indirectly from the sense of connecting (*yujir, yoge*). Manu uses the word *yoga* in the sense of controlling, evidently from *yuj, samyamane* (Manu 7, 44). *Mahābhārata* III. 2639 also uses the word *yoga* in the sense of controlling. But nowhere in any literature earlier than Patañjali do we find the *yoga* in the sense of *samādhi*. Any actual verbal use of the intransitive verb *yuj, samādhai* is hardly available. Turning to Pāli use, the word *yoga* is found in the derivative senses of connection, control and effort as in *pubbayoge*, or in *cittassa nigganhaneyogo karanīyo*. It seems therefore that the word *yoga* was not familiarly used in any literature earlier than Patañjali in the sense of *samādhi* and its accessory disciplines. The word *yogin* also, in the sense of a man who habitually practises the *samādhi* processes, is hardly available in any literature earlier than Patañjali. The *Gītā* which in my opinion is prebuddhist as I shall show in my forth-coming volume of the *History of Indian Philosophy*, has no doubt the word *yogin* in it, but the word *yoga* is almost always used in the *Gītā* in the sense of connecting or its other remote derivative meanings but not in the sense of *samādhi*. It is probably Patañjali who first used the word.

yoga in the sense of *saṁādhi*. Vyāsa thus gives the meaning of the word *yoga* as *yogah saṁādhih*. Vācaspati definitely points out that the word *yoga* in Pātāñjali is derived from *yuj saṁādhaū* and not from *yujir yoge* (*yuj saṁādhaū ityasmāt vyut-pannah saṁādhyartho, na tu yujir yoge ityasmāt saṁyogārtha ityarthah*—*Tattvavaiśārādī*).

Prof. Stcherbatsky is therefore right in contending against the view of la Vallée-Poussin that Buddhism is a branch of *yoga*. He is also right in holding that *yoga* in the sense of *saṁādhi* is not to be found in pre-Buddhist literature. But I should like to go further than this and assert that in Buddha's time the word *yoga* meant only control or the effort of control and the different disciplines that constituted in later times the *yoga* processes were not brought under one systematic concept of *yoga*. The application of the term *yoga* in Vasubandhu's work ought not to lead us to believe that the word *yoga* meant in early Buddhism a comprehensive science holding within it the processes of *śīla*, *saṁādhi* and *prajñā*. It is possible that dhyāna meditations were practised by many people as isolated endeavours and it is also possible that beliefs about the mystical powers of those who perform these meditations, were current in certain circles. From the Kāṭha, we know that senses were felt like uncontrollable horses and sense control was very much praised and that cataleptic states of trance were also regarded as high achievements of perfection. It may thus be supposed that the Buddha collected all these floating traditions, interpreted them in terms of his own dhyāna experiences and assimilated them into his own system of thought. The way in which the Buddha systematised the different practices, associated them with high nobility and perfection of character and welded them together in a comprehensive whole, served as a model to Pātāñjali who adapted it in his own way with some very important modifications. Far from being a branch of *yoga*, it was Buddhism which made *yoga* what it was. It is needless to say that Prof. Stcherbatsky is perfectly right in saying that the Buddhism of the Buddha has nothing of sorcery and thaumaturgy in it. The mere fact that any one indulging in mystic experiences believed in certain mystic worlds in which mystic experiences could be continued without the impediments of bodily limitations of hunger, thirst and lust, cannot constitute sorcery. If it did, then even Christianity which indulged in the belief in the kingdom of God, in resurrection, in the day of judgment and in the angels of God would also be called sorcery. The fact that Buddhism firmly believed in the gradual advancement and elevation of our being through more and more moral purity, the gradual destruction of passions and antipathies and the gradual moral strife in which the higher and nobler states of the mind gained supremacy over the lower ones and with the dawn of the superior wisdom all desires and rebirth became finally extinct, makes Buddhism one of the highest religions of the world. In fact, it is difficult to believe that a scholar of la Vallée-Poussin's attainments should indulge in such baseless and uncritical fancies. And one may well suppose that Prof. la Vallée-Poussin did not actually mean it; and it is on account of the lack of precision and looseness of expression that it appears that he

identifies Buddhism with sorcery, beggary, mendicancy and thaumaturgy; for, on page 25 he says that these saints were very much higher than sorcerers as they looked forward towards gradual elevation and saintliness—Mais si les Yogins ou ascètes préboudhiques tiennent du "mendiant" qui jéûne contre les villages qui refusent, l'aumône, tiennent du sorcier et mettent à très haut-prix l'hypnose et la thaumaturgie, ils sont souvent mieux que des sorciers et des mendiants; ils visent à la sainteté; ils sont souvent, avec des idées philosophiques rudimentaires et inconsistantes, une conception arrêtée de la destinée de l'homme, une sagesse. Le Yoga, vers l'époque que nous considérons, s'était ordonné ou s'ordonnait suivant trois ou quatre pensées maîtresses, les pensées qui dominent l'Inde post-védique, l'Inde brāhmanique bouddhique, hindoue, transmigration avec des enfers et des paradis; mérite et démérite; délivrance de la transmigration, bonheur supreme et définitif; chemin qui conduit à la délivrance, à savoir le Yoga, l'effort, la discipline méditative et ascétique.

On the subject of Nirvāṇa Prof. Stcherbatsky points out that Prof. la Vallée-Poussin holds that since in the Pali Canon the word 'immortal' is used as one of the epithets of Nirvāṇa and since in the later literature Nirvāṇa is described as a reality (*vastu*), it can well be supposed that the pre-canonic Buddhism believed in immortality of the soul. He further says that Prof. la Vallée-Poussin explains Buddha's silence on the question of Nirvāṇa as his incapacity in the philosophical field. But if this is so, how can Prof. la Vallée-Poussin argue that early Buddhism believed in the doctrine of the immortality of the soul. If the Buddha denied an eternal soul against the eternalist, but maintained the doctrine of moral responsibility against the materialist, how can he be supposed to be believing in the doctrine of an immortal soul. Prof. la Vallée-Poussin draws a historical outline to explain the growth of Buddhism in which he says that there was in the beginning a simple faith in soul and immortality and a primitive teaching of an indefinite character, mainly of obscure magic, after that a mixed period supervened, when this simple creed was contaminated with confused ideology and this allows us to ask whether Buddhism at that period was not a gnosis. At last Buddhism received a super-structure of inane scholasticism and we have scholastic period of Buddhism just as one we had in mediaeval Europe. Primitive faith, then a period of gnosticism and then a period of scholasticism, these are three stages of the development of Buddhism, just as we had in the development of the Western Church.

In criticising the above view, Prof. Stcherbatsky points out that early Buddhism never believed in the doctrine of the existence of the self or its immortality. If by later scholastic Buddhism, the Vaibhāṣikas are meant, then it is not true that they represented in their teaching anything substantially different from the views of the early canonical schools, for, the Vaibhāṣikas are only the continuators of one of the oldest schools, the Sarvāstivādins and their teachings are therefore quite different from the Sautrāntikas who may be regarded as initiating a new school of Buddhism. By Hīnayāna therefore, one ought to include the

Vaibhāṣikas, and the Sautrāntika school may be regarded as a new transitional school leading to the Mahāyāna school of pure idealism. Early Buddhism started from a sound philosophical idea of a pluralistic universe, it denied substance and established lists of ultimate realities (*dharma*s). Some of these elements are highly artificial constructions. The maxim which guided these assumptions was that corresponding to each difference of the connotative terms of language, there must be differences of things or entities. The Sautrāntikas differed from the Vaibhāṣikas in attributing only nominal existence to these felt differences in experience. They thus objected to the comprehensive list of elements or entities as the ultimate data of the Vaibhāṣikas and only believed in the sense data and the mind data. It is therefore wrong to take them in the same class with the Vaibhāṣikas under the sweeping term of scholasticism. The Sautrāntikas flourished for at least five hundred years from the first to the fifth century A. D., side by side with the Vaibhāṣikas and the Mahāyānists. Vasubandhu and his pupil Dinnāga may be regarded as partly Sautrāntika and partly Vijñānavādin. Ultimately the Sautrāntikas merged into the Mahāyānists or the Vijñānavādins. When the Vaibhāṣikas declared Nirvāṇa to be something real, they did not mean by it that Nirvāṇa was a kind of paradise. They only regarded Nirvāṇa as the annihilation of all life and as a materialistic lifeless reality (*nirōdhasatya, vastu*). Sautrāntikas, on the other hand, admitted the existence of the Buddha's cosmical body and adhered to the Mahāyāna conception of identifying Nirvāṇa with the living world itself and denying its reality as a separate element transcending the living world. Thus both the Vaibhāṣika and the early Buddhist schools regard saṃsāra and Nirvāṇa as real. But Nirvāṇa is real only in the sense of a materialistic, lifeless reality (*yaśmin sati cetaso vimokṣaḥ acetanah*). The Sautrāntikas believed saṃsāra as real and Nirvāṇa as unreal (i. e. separately unreal). The Vijñānavādins or the Yogācārās believed saṃsāra as unreal and the Nirvāṇa as real. The Mādhyamikas regarded both the saṃsāra and the Nirvāṇa as unreal (i. e. separately unreal).

According to the Vaibhāṣikas, existence is of two kinds as phenomenal and as eternal. Phenomenal existence of matter, mind and forces are but complexes of elements. Only space and Nirvāṇa are eternal existences. The phenomenal elements are however all real in the present, past and future. This reality is thus conceived in two ways, firstly, as momentary flashings in actual life and secondly, in their abiding and everlasting nature (*dharmalakṣaṇa* and *dharmasvabhāva*). They held therefore that when all flashings in actual life stopped in Nirvāṇa, there remained that lifeless entity in which all flashings of passion and life became extinct. It is impersonal eternal death, but only as a separate element and as the ultimate reality of the elements, in their lifeless condition. The simile of the extinction of light is to be explained as meaning only this lifeless condition. The difference between this view and ordinary materialism is that in the latter

every death would be Nirvāṇa (*dehacchedo mokṣah*). And this view is therefore called *ucchedavāda*. In the Vaibhāṣika view however, there is no Nirvāṇa at every death, but the different worlds in which a saint may be born are produced by karma and the elements composing his personality are gradually one after the other reduced to a state of quiescence and extinction until in final Nirvāṇa all are extinct. The moral law through a long process of evolution reduces the living world into a state of final quiescence, where there is no life, but something lifeless and inanimate. It is therefore wrong to think that the Vaibhāṣikas regarded Nirvāṇa as a vastu or reality in the sense of spiritual immortality. The Sautrāntikas, however, denied this materialistic Nirvāṇa and regarded it as being the ultimate extinction of the entire cyclic processes of life without any residue of any kind. There was, however, a class of Sautrāntikas who believed that there was a subtle consciousness which outlived the final extinction of Nirvāṇa and that it was from this that the elements which manifested as life experiences (see Vasumitra's *Samayabhedha-uparacanakāra*, Asia Major II. 1. pp. 1-78, Leipzig 1925). It is possible to trace the germs of the ālayavijñāna of the Yogācārās in this doctrine. Later on however, the Sautrāntikas objected to this doctrine as it leads to the denial of the external world in the Yogācāra school. It is also possible that this view was drawn from the Mahāyānist view who did not wish to believe in the total disappearance of the Buddha in a materialistic Nirvāṇa. The Yogācāra view consisted in the belief in one pure knowledge as being the ultimate reality which seemed through ignorance as being modified into the diverse modes of phenomenal experience. In the Mahāyānist view therefore, there is no difference between the Nirvāṇa and the saṃsāra. Prof. Stcherbatsky then compares the Vaibhāṣika view of Nirvāṇa with the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika view of salvation, and the Mahāyānist view of Nirvāṇa with the Vedānta view of salvation. He also supplements this with a valuable general analysis of the principle of relativity of the Mādhyamika school.

The main argument of Prof. Stcherbatsky against Prof. la Vallée-Poussin may be summed up in two propositions, firstly, that nowhere in early Buddhism has the doctrine of the existence of self been preached, and secondly, it is said that this negative conclusion is strengthened by the fact that the Vaibhāṣikas who are the continuators of early Buddhism, believed in a form lifeless reality as being the Nirvāṇa. I am in general sympathy with Prof. Stcherbatsky's conclusions, but I do not think that he has sufficiently proved them. Firstly, the assertion that in early Buddhism we do not come across any belief regarding the soul's immortality as Nirvāṇa, however true it may be, should have been attested by exhaustive references from the Pali canons. Secondly, admitting that the Vaibhāṣikas were the continuators of early Buddhism, it still remains to see how far the Vaibhāṣikas made new addi-

tions to the views of early Buddhism or left off some of their doctrines or changed and modified them. This would mean an exhaustive comparison of the contents of the Pali canons their commentaries and the Vaibhāṣika works. And unless this is done, it may be dangerous to make assertions regarding the views of Pali canons from assertions in Vaibhāṣika works.

Judging from the early Pāli texts it seems very probable that Nirvāṇa was a ethico-religious state of the extinction of desires as a result of ethical practices, contemplation and insight. As such it need not be regarded as transcendental. Such a state, however, clearly belongs to transcendental, rather than normal psychology. It is, therefore, sometimes described as unspeakable, and as immeasurable, as in *Sutta Nipāta* 1076 (*attham gatassa na pamānamatthi*). It is also sometimes described as an eternal reality and as such it is described as *accutam thānam, amatam padam, amata nibbāna dhātu*. In the Abhidhamma period it is sometimes described positively, as a sphere of existence, and negatively, as a condition of utter annihilation. F. Heiler in his *Die Buddhistische Versenkung* very aptly says that "only by its concept Nirvāṇa is something negative, but by its sentiment it is a positive term of the most pronounced form. In spite of all conceptual negativity, Nirvāṇa is nothing but eternal salvation after which the heart of the religious yearns." It is by extinction (*Nibbāna*) of the fire of passions (*rāga aggi*) that the ultimate freedom is attained and there is the final extinction (*pari-nibbāna*). The fire of passions and desires can only go out in consequence of the cessation of the causes that were producing them, they cannot be destroyed by force all on a sudden. It is, therefore, that in the earlier texts Nibbāna is compared to a dying fire (*aggi anāhāro nibbuto Majjhima I. 487*) and not to a fire blown out—compare also *anāhāro nibbāyetha, Apadāna 153*, also *padīpassa eva nibbānam vimokkho ahu cetaso*. The eternity of Nibbāna in all probability refers to the undisturbed tranquility and peace through the cessation of rebirth and there is probably no text which can lead to the supposition that it is a state of the immortality of soul *ajaram amaram khemam pariyesāpi nibbutim (Vimāna Vatthu 514)*, *saddasankhārasamatho nibbānam (Saṃyutta I. 136)*. The same idea is repeated in *Majjhima I. 508*, *āroga paramū lābhā nibbānam paramam sukham atthangiko ca maggānam khemam amata gāminam*. Nibbāna is also often described as cessation of desire *tanhākkhaya* as in *Vimāna Vatthu 73*, also in *Saṃyutta I. 39—tanhāya vipphānena nibbānam iti vuccati*, also in *Vinaya I. 5—sabbasankhārasamatho nibbānam*. The idea of Nibbāna as the ultimate extinction and the psychosis as a whole is to be found in *Saṃyutta I. 136*, *Anguttara II. 118*, *IV. 423*, *V. 8, 110* etc. Again in *Sutta Nipāta 1094* we find a similar passage—*akincanam anādanam etam dīpamanāparam nibbānam iti nam brumī iaramaccuparikkhayam*; so also in *Saṃyutta II. 117*, *bhavanirodho nibbānam iti*. In one of the earliest passages also Nibbāna is described as cessation and as wisdom—*upasammāya abhiññāya sambodhāya nibbānāya samvattati*, again in *Vinaya V. 86*

Nibbāna is definitely described as non-self—*aniccā sabbe sankhārā dukkhā nāttā ca sankhatā nibbānam ca evam paññatti anatta iti nicchaya*. Coming to some of the most authoritative traditional interpretations of Pali Buddhism, I shall for the sake of brevity only refer to some passages of Buddhaghosa's *Visuddhi Magga*. Buddhaghosa defines Nibbāna as the substanceless cessation of desires (*tanhā*)—*yasma...tanhāya nikkhanto nissato visañyutto tasmā nibbānam ti vuccati ti*. On page 295, Nibbāna is described as the highest moral quality along with other moral qualities—*khanti paramam tapo titikkhā nibbānam paramam vadanti buddhā*. On page 498 Nibbāna is again described as the supportless liberation, the getting rid of, the forsaking and the entire and absolute cessation of desires through disinclination to them—*yo tassa yeva tanhāya asesavirāganirodho cāgo palinissaggo mutti anālayo ti eva nirodhaniddese atthato ekam eva nibbānam*. On page 507 a subjective and objective distinction of the meaning of Nibbāna is made. On the subjective ethico-religious plane Nibbāna is described as in the passage as *asesavirāganirodho* and on the objective side it is called the noble truth of *dukkhaniridho*. It is said there that it is on this account that Nibbāna is described as peace (*santi lakkanam*) and as eternal (*accutirasam*). It cannot be said that because ordinary men cannot perceive it, Nibbāna is therefore non-existent like the hare's horn. For, had Nibbāna been non-existent, the ennobling of character and contemplation and wisdom which are methods of the attainment of Nibbāna would be futile. For, if Nibbāna does not exist, then the processes of character-discipline etc. do not exist, and if they do not exist, then passions and afflictions which are destroyed by them do not exist also which is impossible. Nibbāna thus is not non-existent, it is not also mere destruction (*kkhaya*), but it is the destruction of passions (*rāgakkhaya*). Nibbāna is called deathless and eternal, because it is attained only through the right path and not produced by anything (*pattabam eva h' etam māggena, na uppādetabbam*). *Tasma appabhavam eva, Appabhavattā ajaramaram, Pabhavajaramaramam bhāvalo niccam*. It does not seem that Nibbāna can be described as an existent with positive characters, it can be called as a negation of non-existence only because it is attainable by special wisdom and steady efforts which are positive in their nature *casithilaparakkamasiddhena onnavisesena adhigamanāto sabbāññuracanato caparammalthena sabhavallo nibbānam nāvijjāmanam*, page 509. Again, on page 567, it is said that just as a crow when set free from a merchant's boat on sea flies to the shore if it is visible, whereas, if no shores are visible returns back to the mast of the boat, so if a man perceives Nibbāna as the wisdom of disinclination to all sankhara elements (elements forming one's individuality, he leaves the course of the out-flow of all sankharas and springs forward to Nibbāna; if he has not the wisdom of disinclination to sankharas, he falls again and again in the course of the flow of the sankharas. It is also said there in a description of the nature of liberation as Nibbāna that he who takes to Nibbāna as mere void (*suññata*) perceives it as such. Again on page 666, it is said that just as a man suffering from heat desires cold, so does one

suffering from the fire of rebirth desire Nibbana as the cessation of that fire.

It is unnecessary to multiply examples. But it is clear from the above that the view of Prof. la Vallée-Poussin that Nirvāṇa in early Buddhism meant immortality of soul cannot be attested by textual references from Pāli canonical works or from the works of responsible commentators like Buddhaghosa. So the negative contention of Prof. Stecherbatsky may be regarded as absolutely correct. But it must also be said that there is no proof in favour of his view that the philosophy of Nirvāṇa of the Vaibhāṣikas was identical with the view of Nirvāṇa of early Buddhism, or that in early Buddhism Nibbāna meant a lifeless reality as the elements of dharmas as Prof. Stecherbatsky holds. Space does not allow me to enter into any discussion regarding the view of Nirvāṇa among the Vaibhāṣikas. I fear, I have to differ on some important points here also from Prof. Stecherbatsky. But I must reserve it for some future occasion.

Prof. Stecherbatsky's illuminating work on the "Conception of Nirvāṇa" throws a flood of light on many obscure points of the development of the history of Buddhist philosophy, and every scholar of Buddhist philosophy will feel grateful to him for his contribution. But yet it is only in his translation of the first and the twentyfifth chapters of Nāgārjuna's *Mādhyamika Kārikā* and its commentary by Candrakīrti, that he shows his great scholarship of Buddhism, wonderful mastery over abstruse dialectical Sanskrit and over all, his superior philosophical acumen, a rare combination among scholars of any country. I shall not enter into any details, but I fear that the translation may not generally be regarded as very exact,* but it is exceedingly readable, and excellent on the whole. There are only a few scholars either in this country or in Europe who can read Candrakīrti's commentary with such ease and insight as Prof. Stecherbatsky has done. Though he has translated only two chapters of the book, yet I feel confident that they will be a real help to most Buddhist scholars in being introduced to Candrakīrti and his master.

* To give only one example, let us turn to the adoration verse with which Candrakīrti starts his introduction to his commentary on the *karikas* of Nāgārjuna. The verse runs as follows:—

Yacchasti vaḥ kleśaripūṇaśeṣaṁ santrāyate durgatā bhavāveka : taccāśānūt trāṇagunācca sūtrametat dyañcānyamateṣu nāsti Stecherbatsky's translation:—(indeed a philosophic treatise should contain a doctrine of Salvation, it then "rules and it saves"). "It rules over all our enemies, our passions. It saves us from the misery and from phenomenal experience (altogether.) These two advantages are not to be found in other philosophic doctrines."

Suggested translation:—Because it checks all your enemies of passions and saves you from misfortunes and rebirth, therefore on account of this checking power and the quality of saving (two parts of the word *sūtra* from *śūś* and *trā* yielding these two different meanings) it is (called) a *sūtra*. And these two do not exist in other systems (which therefore may be called a *mata* but not a *sūtra*).

I now propose to subjoin a running review of some of the most salient points of Nāgārjuna's philosophy as contained in Prof. Stecherbatsky's translation of the first and twentyfifth chapter of the *Mādhyamika-Vṛtti* which form an appendix to his work under review.

Nāgārjuna's main thesis was that all things are relative and hence indefinable in themselves and hence there was no way of discovering their essences and since their essence are not only indefinable and indescribable but incomprehensible as well, they cannot be said to possess any essences of their own. Nāgārjuna was followed by Āryadeva, a Ceylonese by birth, who wrote a separate work on the same subject in 400 aphorisms. For about two centuries after this, the doctrines of Nāgārjuna were in a sleepy condition as is evidenced by the fact that Buddhaghosa of the fourth century A. D. does not refer to them. During the Gupta empire Asaṅga and Vasubandhu flourished in the fifth century A. D. In the sixth century A. D. the relativistic philosophy of Nāgārjuna again flourished in the hands of Buddhapālita of Valabhi in Surat and Bhavya or Bhavyaviveka of Orissa. The school of Bhavya was called *Mādhyamika Santāntika* on account of his supplementing Nāgārjuna's arguments with special arguments of his own. At this time the Yogācāra school of Mahāyāna monism had developed in the north and the aim of this school was to show that for the true knowledge of the one consciousness (*vijñāna*) all logical arguments were futile. All logical arguments showed only their own inconsistency. It seems very probable that

Srīharṣa was inspired by these Yogācāra authors and their relativistic allies from Nāgārjuna to Bhavya and Candrakīrti, the master commentator of Nāgārjuna's *Mādhyamika Kārikā*. Buddhapālita sought to prove that the apprehension and realisation of the idealistic monism cannot be made by any logical argument, for all logic is futile and inconsistent while, Bhāvyaviveka sought to establish his idealistic monism by logical arguments. Candrakīrti finally supported Buddhapālita's scheme as against the scheme of Bhāvyaviveka and tried to prove the futility of all logical arguments. It was this *Mādhamika* scheme of Candrakīrti that finally was utilised in Tibet and Mongolia for the realisation of idealistic monism.

In taking up his refutations of the various categories of being, Nāgārjuna first takes up the examination of causation. Causation in the non-Buddhistic systems of philosophy is regarded as being the production from some permanent or abiding stuff or through the conglomeration of several factors or through some factors operating over an abiding stuff. But Nāgārjuna not only denies that anything ever is produced but also that it is ever produced from any one of the above ways. Buddhapālita holds that things cannot arise of themselves, for if they are already existing, there is no meaning in their being produced; if things that are existing are regarded as capable of being produced again, then things would eternally continue to be produced. Bhāvyaviveka criticising Buddhapālita says that the refutation of Buddhapālita should have been supplemented with reasons and examples and that such a refutation would imply an undesirable

thesis that if things are not produced of themselves, they must be produced by other factors. But Candrakīrti objects to this criticism of Bhāviviveka and says that the burden of proof for establishing the identity of cause and effect lies with the opponents, the Sāṅkhysts who hold that view. There is no meaning in the production of what already exists and if that which is existent has to be produced again and that again, there will be an infinite regress. It is unnecessary to give any new argument to refute the Sāṅkhya satkāryavāda view for it is enough to point out the inconsistency of the Sāṅkhya view. Thus Aryadeva says that the Mādhyamika view has no thesis of its own which it seeks to establish for it does not believe in the reality or unreality of anything or in the combination of reality and unreality.* This was exactly the point of view that was taken by Śrīharsa. Śrīharsa says that the Vedāntists have no view of their own regarding the things of the world and the various categories involved in them. Therefore there was no way in which the Vedānta view could be attacked. The Vedānta however is free to find out faults with other views and when once this is done and the inconsistencies of other positions are pointed out its business is finished for it has no view of its own to establish. Nāgārjuna also thus says in "Vigraha-vyāvartanī":—

"When I have these (of my own to prove),
I can commit mistakes just for the sake

(of proving)
But I have none. I cannot be accused (of being inconsistent).

If I did (really) cognise some (separate) things,
I could then make an affirmation or a denial
Upon the basis of these things perceived or (inferred)
But these (separate) things do not exist for me.
Therefore I cannot be assailed on such a basis."†

Candrakīrti thus emphasises the fact that it is not possible for the Mādhyamikas to offer new arguments or new examples in criticising any view, for the Mādhyamikas have no view of their own to support. They cannot even prove their own affirmations and if their affirmations contain any thesis, they quarrel with it also themselves. So the Mādhyamika scheme of criticism consists only in finding fault with all theses whatever they may be, and in replying to the counter-charges so far as inconsistencies could be found in the opponents' theses and methods, but not by adducing any new arguments or any new counter-theses, for the Mādhyamikas have no theses of their own. In an argument if one can only follow the principles that are admitted by him no one can be defeated by arguments carried on the basis of principles admitted only by his opponents.

Things are not also produced by any conglomeration of foreign factors or causes, for had it been so then there would be no law of such production and anything might come from any other things,

darkness from light. And if a thing cannot be produced out of itself or out of others, it cannot be produced by a combination of them both. Again the world could not have sprung into being without any cause (*ahetutah*).

The Buddhist logicians try to controvert this view by pointing out that whatever a view may be it must be established by proper proof. So in order to prove the thesis that all existents are unproduced, the Mādhyamikas must give some proofs and that would involve a further specification of the nature of such proofs and a specification of the number of valid proofs admitted by them. But if the thesis that "all existents are unproved" is a mere assertion without any proof to support it then any number of counter assertions may be made for which no proof need be shown; and if proofs are not required in one case they cannot be required in the other case as well. So one could with equal validity assert that all existents are real and are produced from causes. The Mādhyamika answer to such an objection as formulated by Candrakīrti is that the Mādhyamika has no thesis of his own and so the question whether his thesis is supported by valid proofs or not is as meaningless as the question regarding the smallness or the greatness of a mule's horn. Since there is no thesis, the Mādhyamika has got nothing to say regarding the nature of valid proof (*pramāṇa*) or their number. But it may well be asked that if the Mādhyamika had no thesis of his own, why should he at all hold the proposition that all existents are unproduced (*sarve bhāvān anutpannāḥ*)? To this the Mādhyamika replies that such propositions appear as definite views only to the ordinary people, but not to the wise. The proper attitude for the wise is always to remain silent. They impart instructions to those who want to listen to them only from a popular point of view. Their arguments are not their own or which they believe as right, but only such as would appeal to their hearers.

It is not out of place here to mention that the Mādhyamika school wishes to keep the phenomenal and the real or the transcendental view wide apart. In the phenomenal view things are admitted to be as they are perceived and their relations are also conceived as real. It is interesting to refer to the discussion of Candrakīrti with Dinnāga regarding the nature of sense-perceptions. While Dinnāga urges that a thing is what it is in itself (*svalakṣaṇa*) Candrakīrti holds that since relations are also perceived to be true, things are relational as well. Phenomenally substances exist as well as their qualities. The "thing in itself" of Dinnāga was as much a relative concept as the relational things that are popularly perceived as true; that being so it is meaningless to define perception as being only the thing in itself. Candrakīrti thus does not think that any good can be done by criticising the realistic logic of the Naiyāyikas, for so far as the popular perceptions or conceptions go, the Nyāya logic is quite competent to deal with them and give an account of them. There is a phenomenal reality and order which is true for the man in the street, on which all our linguistic and other usages are based. Dinnāga in defining perception restricts it only to the unique thing in itself (*svalakṣaṇa*) and think that all associations of quality and relations are extraneous to perceptions and should

* *sadasatsadasacceti yasya pakṣo na vidyate : upālamphaścireṇāpi tasya vaktum na śakyate Mādhyamikavṛtti* pp. 16.

† *Anyatpratītya yadi nāma paro'bhaviṣyat jāyeta tarhi bahulaḥ śikhino'ndhakārah sarvasya janma ca bhavet khalu sarvataśca tulyam paratvamakhile' janake'pi yasmāt Mādhyamikavṛtti* p. 36.

be included under imagination or inference. This however does violence to our ordinary experience and yet serves no better purpose, for the definition of perception as given by Dinnaga is not from the transcendental point of view and thus represents the lower point of view. If that is so, why not accept the realistic conceptions of the Nyāya school which fits in with the popular experience. This reminds us of the attitude of the Vedāntists who on one hand accepted the view point of popular experience and regarded all things as having a real objective existence, and yet on the other hand considered them all as false and unreal from the transcendental point of view of ultimate reality. The attitude of the Vedāntists on this point seems to have been directly inspired by the attitude of the Mādhyamikas. The attempts of Śrīharṣa to refute the realistic definition of Nyāya were intended to show that the definitions of Nyāya could not be regarded as absolute and true as they used to think. But while the Mādhyamikas who had no view points of their own to support could leave the field of experience absolutely undisturbed and allow the realistic definitions of Nyāya to explain the popular experience in any way it liked, the Vedānta had a thesis of its own, namely, that the self-luminous Brahman was the only reality and that it was through it that everything else was manifested. The Vedānta therefore could agree with Nyāya interpretations of experience and their definitions. But as the Vedānta was unable to give the manifold world-appearance a footing in reality, it regarded it as somehow existing by itself and invented a theory of perception by which it could be considered as being manifested by coming in touch with Brahman and being illusorily imposed on it.

Continuing the discussion on the nature of Causation, Nāgārjuna and Candrakīrti hold that collocations of causal conditions which are different from the effect cannot produce the effect as is held by the Hīnayāna Buddhists, for since the effect is not perceived in those causal conditions, it cannot be produced out of them, if it is already existent in them its production becomes useless. Production of anything out of some foreign or extraneous causes implies that it is related to them and this relation must mean that it was in some way existent in them. The main principle which Nāgārjuna employs in refuting the idea of causation or production in various ways is that if a thing exists it cannot be produced and if it does not exist, it cannot be produced at all. That which has no essence in itself cannot be caused by anything else and having no essence in itself it cannot also be the cause of anything else.*

Nāgārjuna similarly examined the concepts of going and coming and says that as the action of going is not to be found in the space traversed over, nor is it to be found in that which is not traversed over and apart from the space traversed over and not traversed, there cannot be any action of going. If it is urged that going is neither in the space traversed nor in the space untraversed, but in the person who continues to go for going is in him in whom there is the effort of going then that also cannot be right. For if the action of going is to be associated with the

person who goes, it cannot be associated with the space traversed. One action cannot be connected with both; and unless some space is gone over there cannot be a goer. If going is in the goer alone then even without going, one could be called a goer which is impossible. If both the goer and the space traversed have to be associated with going, then there must be two actions and not one, and if there are two actions that implies that there are also two agents. It may be urged that the movement of going is associated with the goer and that therefore going belongs to the goer, but if there is no going without the goer and if there is no goer without going, how can going be at all associated with the goer. Again in the proposition "the goer goes" (*gantū gacchati*) there is only one action of going and that is satisfied by the verb "goes," but what separate "going" is there by virtue of the association with which a "goer" can be so called and since there are no two actions of going there cannot be a goer. Again the movement of going cannot even be begun, for, when there is no motion of going, there is no beginning and when there is no motion of going, there cannot be any beginning. Again it cannot be urged that "going" must exist since its opposite "remaining at rest (*sthiti*)" exists, for who is at rest? The goer cannot be at rest for no one can be a goer unless he goes; he who is not a goer being already at rest cannot again be the agent of another action of being at rest. If the goer and going be regarded as identical then there would be neither verb nor agent. So there is no reality in going. "Going" stands here for any kind of passage or becoming and the refutation of "going" implies the refutation of all kinds of passage (*niṣkaṣaṇa*) as well. If seeds passed into the state of shoots (*aṅkura*), then they would be seeds and not shoots; the shoots are neither seeds nor are different from them; yet the seeds being there, there are shoots. A pea is from another pea, but yet no pea becomes another pea. A pea is neither in another pea nor different from it. As one may see the beautiful face of a woman in a mirror and feel attracted by it and run after her, though the face never passed into the mirror and there was no human face in the reflected image. Just as the essenceless reflected image of a woman's face may rouse attachment in fools, so are appearances of the world, the causes of our delusion and attachment.

It is needless to multiply examples and describe elaborately Nāgārjuna's method of the application of his dialectic for the refutation of the various Buddhist and other categories. But from what has been said, it may be possible to compare or contrast Nāgārjuna's dialectic with that of Śrīharṣa. Neither Nāgārjuna nor Śrīharṣa are interested to give any rational explanation of the world-process, nor are they interested to give a scientific reconstruction of our world experience. They are agreed in discarding the validity of world experience as such. But while Nāgārjuna had no thesis of his own to uphold, Śrīharṣa sought to establish the validity and ultimate reality of Brahman. But it does not appear that he ever properly tried to apply his own dialectic to his thesis and tried to show that the definition of Brahman could stand the test of the criticism of his own dialectic. Both

* *Mādhyamikavṛtti* p. 90, line 6.

Nāgārjuna and Śrīharṣa were however agreed in the view that there was no theory of the reconstruction of world-appearance which could be supported as valid. But while Śrīharṣa attacked only the definitions of Nyāya, Nāgārjuna mainly attacked the accepted Buddhist categories and also some other relevant categories, which were directly connected with them. But the entire efforts of Śrīharṣa were directed in showing that the definitions of Nyāya were faulty and that there was no way in which Nyāya could define its categories properly. From the fact that Nyāya could not define its categories, he rushes to the conclusion that they were intrinsically indefinable and that therefore the world-appearance which was measured and scanned in terms of those categories were also false. Nāgārjuna's methods are largely different from that of Śrīharṣa in this that the concepts which he criticised were shown by him to have been intrinsically based and constructed on notions which had no essential nature of their own, but which were only understood in relation to others. No concept revealed any intrinsic nature of its own and one could understand a concept only through another and that again by the former

or by another and so on. The entire world-appearance is thus based on relative conceptions and is false. Nāgārjuna's criticisms are however largely of an apriori nature which do not treat the concepts in a concrete manner and which are not also based on the testimony of our psychological experience. The opposition shown therefore is very often of an abstract nature and occasionally degenerates into verbalism. But as a rule they are based on the fundamentally-relative nature of our experience. They are never half so elaborate as the criticisms of Śrīharṣa, but at the same time they are fundamentally more convincing and more direct than the elaborate round-about logical subtleties of Śrīharṣa's dialectical criticisms. It cannot be denied that based on the dialectical methods of Nāgārjuna, Buddhapālita and Candrakīrti, Śrīharṣa's criticisms following an altogether different plan of approach, show wonderful powers of logical subtleties and fineness, though the total effect can hardly be regarded as an advancement from the strictly philosophical point of view, while the frequent verbalism of many of his criticisms is a discredit to his whole venture.

A GLIMPSE INTO THE GENERAL ELECTION IN GERMANY

By S. P. RAJU, B. A., B. E., A. M. I. E.

(Munich, Germany.)

GERMANY has been in the throes of a General Election, and the whole country was in a state of comparative excitement. Party papers were full of declarations of their own creeds and denunciations of their opponents, while in every street one found innumerable posters with a variety of design and colour, calculated to arrest the attention of the voter, and if possible to convert him to their faith. Above these methods of cold print came the animated personal appeals in small drawing-room gatherings as well as in big public halls, and when weather permitted demonstrations, in the open. One evening the National Socialist Labour Party had arranged twelve simultaneous gatherings in the halls of the different breweries of the city. In addition to the speakers appointed for each place every one of the meetings was addressed by Adolf Hitler, the Leader of the Party and General von Epp, the top candidate of the Party, who rushed round to all of them.

But the excitement is said to have been very mild compared to what it was on previous occasions. The Reichstag is according to the Constitution, elected once in four years, and from the establishment of the Republic up to 1924 the elections took place at times, when the country was faced with burning political problems and was subjected to a severe economic stress and when what the Government did or did not do was a matter of almost life and death to the average man. Even now one hears touching stories of the "Inflation Period", as to how the wages of the workmen were fixed and paid not by the month or the week, but by the day; how at the end of the day they would run to buy all the provisions they could for the money, lest by the next morning it may have depreciated in value; how a house sold did not fetch enough money with which to buy a suit of clothes; and so on. Such stories always end with a sigh and the expression of a wish that the

country may never pass through such a time again. But now politics is comparatively steady, and economics steadier, and the people can afford to listen to election speeches sipping a glass of beer.

ELECTORAL LAW

According to German electoral law every man and woman who has completed his or her twentieth year on the day of election is eligible to vote. From the thorough records maintained by the State about the life's history and movements of every individual in the country, there is no difficulty whatever in determining the eligible voters. The number of forms one has to fill up in Germany, and the detailed information required are very striking. For example, every change of abode of an individual has to be reported to the police; if a person happens to have more than one 'Christian name', the one with which he is usually called should be underlined; and so on. Thus being in possession of all the necessary information the State sends out cards two or three weeks in advance, which have to be presented at the booths for identification. Out of a total population of 62,500,000 the voting strength is 41,000,000.

For purposes of election the whole country is divided into 35 electorates and 17 groups, the groups being formed by the combination of neighbouring electorates. People vote not for the candidates but for the parties. A party is recognised if it can produce signatures of 500 persons with powers of voting, but in the case of parties already represented in the previous Reichstags only 20 signatures are enough.

A party will get one seat for every 60,000 votes it obtains in an electorate or in a group. The surplus votes, i. e., those left over after taking the highest multiple of 60,000, in all the groups are added up into what is called a 'Reichs List' and fresh seats allotted on the same basis, but at the rate of only one for every seat already obtained in the groups; i. e., a party that has got 10 seats in the groups cannot get more than ten in the Reichs List, even if its surplus votes amount to more than 600,000.

Each party submits a 'List' of its candidates in the order in which it wishes them to be elected, so that the election of a candidate depends upon the number of

the seats his party gets and his position in the list.

On account of the nature of the system of election the strength of the Reichstag is indefinite, and the small parties that are scattered over have very little chance. In this election the votes of such parties that went to waste amounted to over 2,700,000 (as against 800,000 of the previous election) i. e., a number which could have sent 45 more members into the Reichstag.

THE PARTIES

There are not less than 32 different political parties in Germany; but the differences between some of them are not so fundamental, that they may be said to form subsections of main parties. The following facts may serve as a background for the understanding of what the different parties stand for.

Germany, as is well-known, consisted for a long time of separate kingdoms, principalities and duchies, until they were all combined by Bismarck in 1871 into a united 'German Empire'. In internal administration, however, these are still independent "Free States" (*Freistaaten*), and the keenness with which they strive to maintain their independence often forms a knotty point in the domestic politics of the country.

The population of Germany consists chiefly of 38 million Protestants, 19 million Catholics and over half a million Jews. The north and middle Germany are mostly Protestant, while Bavaria and portions of Prussia are keenly Catholic. The preponderance of Jews in trade, their supposed control of the Press, and the prominent positions held by some of them in science and art, are often red rags to some of the parties.

The flag of the old monarchy was black, white and red, while the one adopted by the Republic is black, red and gold. This, however, does not seem to have met with universal acceptance, and one often hears of the 'Battle of the Flags'.

Then there are other minor social and economical problems that form the domestic politics of the country. Foreign politics, on the other hand, bristles with exceedingly acute problems like War Reparations, evacuation of Rheinland, recovery of south Tyrol; and over these there are strong

divergences of opinion and manifestation of feeling.

According to the positions of the seats occupied in the Reichstag in Berlin the parties fall into three groups: the "Right" being composed of Nationalists, the "Middle" of Democrats, and the "Left" of Socialists. The chief parties forming the 'Right' are the German National Party (*Deutsche Nationale Partei*) and the National Socialist Labour Party (*Nationalsozialistische Arbeiterpartei*). The German National Party is more or less a successor of the old Conservative Party of the monarchical times and represents large landed proprietors and capitalists. They

into the Reichstag. This party has the support of General Ludendorff, the well-known co-operator with Hindenburg in the Great War. Although occasionally the General addresses meetings in Munich, he has



Election Propaganda. Hitler Party
with Motor Lorries

were, in general, opposed to the Revolution and the Republic and favoured war to recover the lost German territories. The National Socialist Labour Party is under the leadership of Adolf Hitler, who fought in the ranks of the German Army during the war, but being an Austrian cannot himself be elected



Not a Funeral Notice but an Election Placard !
The lines in thick print only would read :
Minister President Heide, Murderous
Attempt on Life, Dead, First
Class Burial



"Vote List 1 Social Democratic Party." Children
going about with red discs containing
the above inscription

practically retired from politics. This party with a uniform of khaki shirt and cap and



In front of a Polling Booth

the emblem of a red swastika is vehement against the Jews, and bitterly opposed to the conciliatory foreign policy of Dr. Stresemann. It so happens that Stresemann's wife is a Jewess! The National Socialists form the extreme Right and have persistently refused participation in any Coalition.

The 'Middle' comprises chiefly the Centre (*Zentrum*), the Bavarian People's Party (*Bayrische Volkspartei*) and the German People's Party (*Deutsche Volkspartei*). The first two are supported by Catholics, while the third represents the professionals and the moderate section of the capitalists. The German People's Party is led by Dr. Stresemann, who is perhaps the one German politician who is much in the eye of the world. While he was hooted and interrupted by the Socialists during his election speeches in Munich, he was warmly praised in Berlin on his 50th birth-day by Prince Bulow for all that he had achieved for Germany by his 'gentle and clever tactics'. His illness has not affected the elections apparently, although the simultaneous illnesses of himself and Briand were whispered in some quarters to be due to machinations of some secret international plot against foreign ministers!

On the extreme 'Left' are the Communists who have also refused to join any Coalition from the commencement of the Republic. But the important party of this Wing are the Social Democrats, who are not only the most numerous but the most influential body in the Reichstag. They in coalition with Stresemann have several most important achievements to their credit, like the ending of the war, conclusion of the Treaty of Versailles, stabilization of the Mark, the Dawes Plan, Locarno Treaty and the entry of Germany into the League of Nations.

ELECTION DAY

Sunday the 20th May was the Election Day. According to law it should be either a Sunday or a holiday. Almost every street had its polling booth, in front of which the parties exhibited their posters. The booths were mostly inns, schools, etc. The voting started at 8 in the morning. The people approaching in queues would receive their Voting Papers (*Wahlzettel*), enter a covered "Cell," mark a red cross in the circle opposite to the name of the party they wished to vote for, enclose it in an envelope, and,

coming out, drop it into box through a slit after getting their identification cards checked.

The principal results of the voting are as follows :—

Social Democrats ...	...	9	287	433
German Nationalist Party ...	...	4	464	832
Centre Party ...	...	3	713	866
Communist Party ...	...	3	217	339
German People's Party ...	...	2	692	444
German Democratic Party ...	...	1	448	763
Economic Party ...	...	1	409	704
Bavarian People's Party ...	...		938	870
National Socialists ...	...		840	856
Other Split Parties ...	...	2	716	717

ELECTION A REALITY TO THE PEOPLE

Although there may not have been the same outward demonstrations as on previous occasions, there is no doubt that the voting is a reality to the people. The maid in our Pension when asked why she was a National Socialist could not at once think of an answer except that her father knew everything, but she almost hissed as she

said pointing her finger towards the next room. 'The gentleman there is a Bayerish People's Party !' Among a family that went to a small drawing-room political meeting, the father sat out in the vestibule as he did not believe in the party that had arranged the meeting, the mother listened passively and approvingly to the speaker, while the daughter was continually putting cross questions. On the election day the voting was over by 5 p.m. I happened to be spending the evening with some friends in their country-house. At 7 p.m. the loud speaker in the next room began to announce the results of the elections in Munich. The whole family was nationalistic, and as the radio boomed out the enormous successes of the Social Democrats there were vehement gestures and exclamations of dissatisfaction ! As some paper remarked the other day, although the people may not personally do much in the four years of the life of a Reichstag, yet during the elections the voice of the people is supreme and sets the direction in which the Reichstag has to move.

A REPLY TO MISS MAYO

By ALIDE HILL BOOTH-SMITHSON

(An American poetess)

On India ! Country of divine dis-content,
Grieve thou not, at the cruel comment
Of our country maid (?)
Having eyes she seeth not at all,
Having ears she heareth not the call
Of thy soul. She's swayed by things external,
As all of us are...
She hitched not her vehicle to a star—
She loveth "brass tacks." (Statistics)
She heweth down here and scattereth there,
She forgetteth her ancestors bowed in prayer
For the truths which she lacks.

Forgive her India—forgive us all
For our Spiritual blindness—
For the Pekin-like wall
We've built round our hearts,
Lest seeing the light of the ages we'll be
Converted to true spirituality
That thy country imparts.

We Westerners mean, of course, to be kind,
In our science and industry we know you find
Much that is good,
But we have seen illness, disease and strife,
Where you have seen only God and Life...
We've not understood.
What you understand—

For Christ is not real
Nor Buddha, nor Krishna to us ;
We don't feel
That anything matters here and now
We're SURE of THIS life
But wrinkle our brow
And scoff or doubt, or accept some creed
A few religions and faults to weed
From out our home garden—but then somehow
We always behold the far-off mote
While our beam remains—as it did in rote.
You really BELIEVE—man lives not by just
bread alone,

We give it the lie...
What our teacher taught we think is a joke,
You love and live what Buddha spoke.

So Forgive us India...I implore,
My country-woman's blunders—heart-sore
I wish my Native land could see
The depth of your—Spirituality...

[This is an Answer to Miss Mayo's own article about her book, appearing in the January 14, 1928 issue of the "Liberty Magazine" 247 Park Avenue, New York City, N. Y., U. S. A. In it she mentions that she prefers "brass tacks" (statistics) to flowery language or poetry.]



REVIEWS & NOTICES OF BOOKS

[Books in the following languages will be noticed: Assamese, Bengali, English, French, German, Gujarati, Hindi, Italian, Kanarese, Malayalam, Marathi, Nepali, Oriya, Portuguese, Punjabi, Sindhi, Spanish, Tamil, Telugu and Urdu. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books and their annotations, pamphlets and leaflets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., will not be noticed. The receipt of books received for review will not be acknowledged, nor any queries relating thereto answered. The review of any book is not guaranteed. Books should be sent to our office, addressed to the Assamese Reviewer, the Hindi Reviewer, the Bengali Reviewer, etc., according to the language of the books. No criticism of book-reviews and notices will be published.—Editor, M. R.]

ENGLISH

THE ECONOMIC ORGANIZATION OF THE SOVIET UNION: By Scott Nearing and Jack Hardy. Published by the Vanguard Press, 80 Fifth Avenue, New York. 245 pp. Price 60 cents, postage paid.

There is little excuse for any of us to remain ignorant of conditions in Soviet Russia today, or to fall back upon those threadbare charges and calling of names indulged in by the ignorant and reactionary. For, apart from the separate studies and general books that have appeared on Russia in recent years, we now have a very excellent and complete series of thirteen volumes devoted to the detailed study of various aspects of Russian life and of Soviet Russia. They are published by the Vanguard Press of America and sold at the ridiculous sum of 50 cents each, that each person may buy them. The volumes have been written after extensive and exhaustive studies by specialists, and the editor is a Professor in the Economic Research Dept. of Yale University. They cover the following subjects, one volume being devoted to each: the Economic organization (here reviewed) of the Soviet Union; How the Soviets Work; Soviet Production and Distribution; Trade Unions; The Family; Religion; Village Life; the School System; Health; Civil Liberties; National Minorities; Art and Culture; and, Russia and her Neighbours.

The volume under review deals with economic organization, and is written by the noted economist, Dr. Scott Nearing, and an economist trained by him, Mr. Jack Hardy. It is the first and most exhaustive study made so far of the system of Soviet economic organization. It speaks in facts, figures and charts. It is in three parts, covering the following subjects; Part I, being a study of the pre-war and war system which was eventually inherited by the Bolsheviks, from the wreck of which they had to make something; and the tremendous attempt to establish a proletarian state. Part II is a very exacting study of economic functions and relationships in the Union, covering the following heads: natural resources; the central economic plan; agriculture; industry; transport and communication; internal and foreign trade; finance, banking and credit; the co-operative movement; the position and organization of labour; new capital and the policy of foreign concessions;

developing new skill. The last, or third part, covers the results of all these activities. A section is given also to the productivity of the Union, and the economic trend.

Part I, devoted to pre-war and war Russia, constantly reminds one of India today, not only in the feudal land system, but in retarded economic development requiring importation of manufactured products, machinery, and even capital, from abroad. It was this economic machinery, headed by an inefficient, ignorant, corrupt and tyrannical State machinery that was expected to carry on a war. 15 million Russian men, including most of the skilled workers, were taken from industry and mobilized for slaughter. The gradual collapse of the system is followed—again in facts and figures—until we see starving cities, rebelling soldiers shipped to the front with no provisions or weapons; we see manufactures, mining, transport and agriculture shrink to a small fraction of pre-war volume. Then came the February break, the attempt of the Kerensky Provisional Government to carry on the War hated by the people, then the uprising against this Government. It was this collapsed, ruined system that the Bolsheviks inherited and were expected to make something of. The October Revolution had Peace, Bread, Land to the peasants and the Factories to the Workers, as its slogans. But it was prevented from peaceful reconstruction. Surrounded by a hostile world the country was desolated by war, revolution, and then by counter-revolution, blockade, armed intervention, and famine. From 1917 to 1921—for five long years—the Soviet Union fought for its life against the most formidable of armed European powers. At the end of that time production had further sunk until, in many industries, it had reached the zero point. And still the workers and peasants defeated all enemies. It is only from 1921 that peaceful economic construction has been possible, and even this has been carried on under constant threat of further intervention and war.

Part II covers the entire economic organization upon which the Soviet system rests. The fundamental principles underlying this organization may be given in Dr. Nearing's own words:

1. The socialization of all basic productive forces, such as land, mines, railroads, factories.
2. The organization and direction of productive forces on a unified, scientific plan.

3. The elimination of private profit and the social use of all economic surplus.

4. Universal obligation on all able-bodied adults to render some productive or useful service—"He shall not eat who does not work." (Article 18, Soviet Constitution).

5. Active participation, by the workers, in the direction of economic life.

6. The widest possible provision, among all who render productive and useful service, of : a) food, clothing, shelter, health service ; b) education, recreation, cultural opportunity.

7. "The abolition of exploitation of men by men, the entire abolition of the division of the people into classes, the suppression of exploiters, the establishment of a Socialist society and the victory of Socialism in all lands." (Article 3, Soviet Constitution.)

Two or three general results of the system may be briefly noted :

1. The budget was balanced and the currency stabilized without external loans or credits. No such record has been made by any of the other major European belligerents. The Soviet Union accomplished this result in 1924, before it was achieved in Britain, Germany, France, Italy, or Belgium.

2. The volume of production has increased each year since 1921. No other principal nation can show an equally steady gain in productivity.

3. The material well-being of Soviet workers has been improving steadily since 1921. No other European country can make a similar showing.

Part III is a short summary of the results of the Soviet system—which means the co-operative system of production and distribution. After analyzing the factors that forced Russia to introduce the New Economic Policy in 1921, with its concessions to the peasantry, its concessions to foreign capitalists, and its permission for free trade within the country, Dr. Nearing asks the very timely question if Russia is drifting towards capitalism, as its enemies amongst the Social Democrats would have us believe in an attempt to justify their own betrayal, or if the Soviet Union is developing along Socialistic lines.

The Soviet Union, he says, is passing through the transition to Socialism, and not one Communist inside or outside of Russia would hold that the present system has achieved the full measure of Socialism. An economic system is not built so quickly. But the trend of historical forces at work there is clearly seen in three prime factors : 1) the State power "is in the hands of the new order and wielded in the interests of the working class and against the growth of the capitalistic forces ; 2) Socialism is not possible without large scale industrialism, and Russia is being industrialized ; 3) the socialized forces of production, distribution and exchange continually expands, and those of private capital lose ground in the struggle—this book under review proves by facts and figures that this phase is a living reality." Therefore, we see that the capture of the State by the toiling masses is complete ; the country is being industrialized, and its agriculture is also being modernized and industrialized ; and socialized agriculture and industry is gradually replacing private ventures that sprang up after 1921. Foreign trade, transport, and finance, are State monopolies. In Russia we see the coming to birth of a new world order, and in it we see socialized economy making attacks

upon private capital—not vice versa. And this is the way to Socialism.

The book is written in that lucid and yet fundamental style for which Dr. Nearing is noted. Every phase of Soviet Russian economy has been covered, and the results shown in figures and in charts. This book, as well as the entire series on Soviet Russia, should be read by Indians.

AGNES SMEDLEY

THE LIFE OF BUDDHA AS LEGEND AND HISTORY :
By E. J. Thomas M. A. D. Litt (St. Andrews),
London, Kegan Paul Trench Trubner & Co. Ltd.
1927. 12s. 6d. net. Pp. XXIV, 297 with Appendix
and Index.

This work, as the author says in his preface, attempts to set forth what is known from the records and to utilise reformation that has never yet been presented in a Western form. Both the Pali and the Sanskrit canons may be regarded as having originated from other original versions which are now practically lost and the task of separating historical from legendary materials is a difficult one and few scholars could have approached the subject in a more impartial and critical spirit than Dr. Thomas has done. The discourses in *Sutta* and *Vinaya* cannot often claim to be historical and many legends of different traditions have often grown round them. The Tibetan Scriptures contain a collection of legends which are probably based on the earliest Sanskrit legends, some of the most important of which have been translated in Rockhill's *Life of the Buddha*. *Mahavastu* and *Lalitavistara* are also Sanskrit works which are based on earlier different traditions and so also is *Abhiniskramana-sutra*, an abridged translation of which from its Chinese translation has been published by Beal. *Buddhavamsa* and *Nidanakatha* are similar works in Pali and it was on works like these that the later Singhalese and Burmese works were based and a Tibetan work on the life of the Buddha was composed as late as 1734 which has been summarised by Scheifner and Klaproth. None of these documents can however be called historical, nor is it easy to discover in them any firm basis for any historical work. Their chronology is as uncertain as their legends. The genealogical accounts of ruling families found in the *Puranas* and the Pali chronicles of *Dipavamsa* (fourth century A. D.) and the *Mahavamsa* which was probably based on it and written in the fifth century, form the chief basis for chronology. From the conflicting accounts of these various sources Dr. Thomas has tried to form his conclusions carefully weighing his judgments in the light of available evidence suggesting a separation of the historical from the legendary materials as far as possible. The work is divided into seventeen chapters, such as the ancestry of Buddha, the home and family of Buddha, infancy and youth, the great renunciation, austerities and enlightenment, the first preaching, spread of the doctrine, legends of the twenty years wandering, rival schools, the last days, the order, Buddhism as a religion, as a philosophy, Buddha and myth, Buddha and history, Buddhism and Christianity. The method adopted by Dr. Thomas has been that of placing the informations available from different sources side by side and then of commenting on them as he dealt with them leaving the

readers to judge for themselves. Thus in the chapter on Buddha's infancy and youth, he first gives the oldest version of the story given in Nalaka-sutta of the Sutta-nipata and shows that the legend was much later than the Sutta and attached to it probably in the Christian era. He then notices the chief differences of this version with the other accretion of legends in the Lalitavistara, the Mahavastu, the Tibetan account, the Divyavadana, the Jataka commentary and the Buddhavamsa as well as their agreements.

In discussing Buddhism as a religion the author says that the most primitive formulation of Buddhism is probably found in the four Noble Truths. These involve a certain conception of the nature of the world and of man. The first three insist on pain as a fact of existence, on a theory of its cause and on a method of its suppression, which is the Noble eightfold path. It is this way of escape from pain with the attaining of a permanent state of repose which as a course of moral and spiritual training to be followed by the individual constitutes Buddhism as a religion. Regarding the relation between Yoga and Buddhism Dr. Thomas rightly points out that it is not probable that Buddhism borrowed its Yoga tenets from the Yoga system. My own view is that the Yoga practices were current in the country and that it was probably Buddha who gave it a systematic form for the first time. The Yoga of Patanjali is certainly indebted to Buddhism for its formulation of the Yoga system in accordance with the metaphysics of Sankhya. Dr. Thomas's treatment of the Buddhist Nibbana, though brief, is instructive. He rightly points out that Nirvana is not peculiarly a Buddhist term though it has undoubtedly a definite Buddhist significance regarding the chief end of man. For the Buddhist it means the extinction of craving, of the desire for existence and the consequent cessation of pain. It is difficult to find out Buddha's own words describing what happens to one who has attained Nirvana in this life and many passages show that the Buddha has himself left it unexplained. But Dr. Thomas is right in holding that there is nothing to show that the conception of Nirvana implied any existence after death as is wrongly held by Prof. de la Vallee-Poussin in his *Nirvana* (Paris 1925) which has led to the publication of *The Conception of Nirvana* by Prof. Stecherbatsky in its refutation. Though the distinction of sopadi and nirupadi Nirvana cannot be found in earliest Buddhism and was later on introduced by the commentators, it was fully in keeping with the spirit of early Buddhism. I have elsewhere discussed it in my review of Prof. Stecherbatsky's "The conception of Buddhist Nirvana" in the July number (1928) of the *Modern Review*.

It is not possible to refer to the many now contributions that have been made in this work regarding the life of Buddha and Buddhism in general within the compass of this brief review. But it may safely be asserted that it has not only utilised all available literature on Buddhism, ancient and modern, but Dr. Thomas has often thrown a new light on the problems that he has handled and decidedly advanced our knowledge of Buddha's life and Buddhism in general a step further.

S. N. DASGUPTA.

STUDIES IN INDIAN ECONOMICS; By M. S. Sesha Iyengar, M. L. A. Madura. Pp. 152: price Re. 1-8-0. 1927.

This is a collection of ten lectures delivered by the author under the auspices of the Madura Economic Association and of three papers contributed by him to the *South India Mail* and to the *Modern Review*, during the years 1916 and 1917. They comprise a variety of subjects, including land revenue, currency, high prices and taxation. The author seems to have a thorough grasp of these subjects and shows considerable skill in marshalling his facts and using them tellingly. The discussions on currency and high prices might with advantage have been brought up-to-date. Few will be found to dissent from the author's view that Indians in larger numbers should turn their attention to the study of economic problems, if responsible government is to have any meaning in the country.

ESSENTIALS OF INDIAN ECONOMICS: By B. G. Sapre, M. A., Professor of History and Economics Willingdon College, Sangli. Pp. 512: Prices Rs. 4-4-0.

In the preface, the author makes a profession of his object in writing this book, first, he desires to supply the student of Indian Economics with a book which "treats of the subject as a whole" and which deals "almost exclusively with Indian economic conditions" and not with "pieces of Indian Economics sandwiched between long dissertations upon ordinary economic theory"; and, secondly, he has tried "to arrange the subject in a manner that clearly shows the *historical* as well as *organic* relation between the various problems of Indian Economics."

We find ourselves completely at variance with the first object of the author. In the first place because we think that it is not possible, in the present stage of the development of economic studies in our country, to produce even a fairly satisfactory work on 'Indian Economics' "treating of the subject as a whole"; and, in the second place, because a book which deals simply with Indian economic conditions and makes no attempt to bring out the real significance of those conditions by reference to economic theory, would, in our opinion, be a mere catalogue of facts and figures and not a book on economics. The author also does not seem to have been very successful in realising his second object, i.e., "arranging the subject in a manner that clearly shows the *historical* as well as *organic* relation between the various problems of Indian Economics." The novel plan of arrangement that he has adopted will, we are afraid, only confuse the students, without facilitating a better understanding of the subject.

THE EXAMINATION OF THE CURRENCY COMMISSION REPORT; By P. B. Junnarkar, M. A., LL.B., Reader and Head of the Department of Commerce, Dacca University. Pp. 121: price Re. 1-4-0.

Mr. Junnarkar's criticism of the Currency Commission's Report is not likely to attract much attention today, though it is a book of more than ephemeral interest. The controversy regarding the relative merits of the 1s. 6d. and 1s. 4d. ratios seems already to belong to a by-gone age; but that does not mean that we have heard the last

of it. The author's statement that "the 1-6 ratio came into existence under artificial conditions produced by a definite monetary policy pursued by the Government of India" is largely true; but that the Government's policy of contraction of currency "has reduced the level of prices, paralysing industries and reducing the demand for capital" appears to us to be an over statement; while his contention that the 1-6 rupee has "considerably reduced the purchasing power in the hands of the agriculturist" and that "this is the cause of the stagnant condition of the piece goods trade, since the year 1921" is extremely fallacious. The 1-6 rupee has certainly reduced the money income of the agriculturist; but it has not reduced his purchasing power—at least not to any appreciable extent.

The question of rupee ratio will never be satisfactorily settled, nor are we ever likely to see the end of India's currency troubles, until she has openly and frankly adopted a gold currency as the proper accompaniment of her gold standard (however retrograde such a measure may appear to the more advanced currency theorists of to-day). The Commission's arguments for the rejection of the Indian Finance Department's proposals for the establishment of a gold currency would not bear close examination. We find here the same solicitation for the interests of other countries, the same (unwarranted) anxiety about the expense of the experiment to India, the same fear of opposition from the gold-grabbing countries of the West, as in the case of previous Commissions. It would be fairly safe to predict the break-down of the Gold 'Bullion' Standard as recommended by the Commission. It might work in a country where the currency system is not complicated by the presence within it of a silver note of unlimited legal tender and where the people have become long accustomed to the use of paper. But in India, the gold bullion standard would in practice mean the gold exchange standard, with the added liability of the Central Reserve Bank to pay gold at a fixed ratio to an unlimited extent to enable the Government and foreign traders to meet their obligations abroad without loss. The internal circulation will continue to be, as heretofore, silver rupees and currency notes nominally convertible into gold but actually cashed in silver—with all the attendant inconveniences of the system.

The author takes strong exception to two features of the Central Reserve Bank as proposed by the Commission, viz., (i) that the other banks should be compelled to maintain minimum reserve balances with the Central Reserve Bank; and (ii) that the Central Reserve Bank should have no direct dealings with the public. He himself would prefer to see the Imperial Bank of India, which carries on its business in close touch with the Indian banking and business world and already preforms many of the functions of a Central Bank act as the Central Reserve Bank of India. Thus he favours, by implication, a share holders' bank. We need not follow the author into his criticism of the other features of the Bank, which have not found support even with the Government of India.

ECONOMICUS

ENGLISH WOMEN IN LIFE AND LETTER: *By M. Phillips and W. S. Tomkinson. O. U. Press. Pp. XVIII+408.*

"This book," say the authors, "describes the lives of past English Women, some rich and of great place, others poor and unknown to fame. The material is in the main historical; but throughout the book we have drawn freely upon the rich stores of English fiction, the better to illustrate and interpret our theme. Thus Pamela Andrews and Mor Flanders testify in these pages along with Dorothy Osborne and Fan Burney. And it has been thought well to tell their own story with as little prompting as possible." We could not improve upon the authors' description of the purpose and scope of their work. It is an interesting gallery of feminine portraits, drawn from actual life and from imagination by poets and novelists from Chaucer to Mrs. Gaskell but all of these intensely realistic.

But whether the subjects of these portraits were actual human beings in flesh and blood or whether they existed only in the imagination of their creators they seem to us mostly, as we judge them by present-day standards, creatures of the fancy and fancy creature-too, made by man what they are and moving about in a man-made world pelted and pampered, scorned and exploited, on the whims and tastes and needs of the stronger sex demanded. Now and then, there is an exception, but only to prove the general rule. What a far cry from the England of today where woman, having at long last come of age, has amply avenged her century old subjection by a series of triumphs culminating in the recent amendment of the Representation of the people Act which gives the flapper of twenty-one the right to vote and this incidentally, we might mention, secures for the women of England a numerical majority and therefore, the power to rule over the men, so that a few generations hence, we may expect the great-great-grand daughters of Mr. Phillips and Mr. Tomkinson to write a book called "English Men in life and letters."

The Book is profusely illustrated & beautifully printed.

HIRANKUMAR SANYAL.

ELEMENTS OF SURVEYING AND RELAYING: *By Mr. R. L. Banerjee. Principal Mainamati (Govt.) Survey School, Via Comilla (Bengal) pp: 196 with Wallet, bound in cloth. Price Rs. 6-8.*

This book deals with the practical methods of ordinary Survey works, with special reference to relaying boundaries. It is well-written and will prove useful to Civil Court Commissioners and to pleaders, preparing for Survey examination.

INDUSHEKHAR BHATTCHARJYA.

THE LAW RELATING TO REGISTRATION OF DOCUMENTS IN BRITISH INDIA: *By Mr. Kshitish Chandra Chakravarti, M. A., B. L., Advocate, Calcutta High Court; Published by Messrs. N. M. Raychowdhury & Co., College Square, Calcutta. Price Rs. 6 only.*

The publication is an excellent commentary on the Indian Registration Act, 1908 Act No. XVI

of 1908 in which careful and elaborate collection of authorities has been made. The author has given a complete history of Registration Law in India which will be found very useful. In the appendix, rules and notifications issued by the different Local Governments have been set out which have added to the value of the book. On the whole, this edition of the Registration Act is a very useful publication and we hope that it will be found to be of great use by the legal public.

G. S.

WHEN PARLIAMENTS FAIL: *A Synthetic view from the Gallery. By a Sympathiser. With a Foreword by Bertram Keightly of the Lucknow University. Thacker Spink & Co. 1927 Pp. VI+90.*

The author of this book, Mr. S. Nehru, goes to the capital cities of France, England, Germany, Italy and Switzerland in order to study the working of the national legislatures of the leading states of Europe and of the League of Nations and records his impressions in powerful and picturesque language in this small book. He sees through the pomp of Parliaments, the solemn stage-acting of representative democracy. Even the grandeur of the League of Nations leaves him unmoved. Geneva, where the League is domiciled, appears to him to be the "Mecca of the Mighty and the Babel of Babblers." He winds up by saying: "Europe's Parliaments are everywhere in chains—of their own forging, or other's imposing. They have, in a deep sense, ceased to function without friction or restraint. But, if reality, the actual world of parliamentary muddle-headedness and democratic mis-government, proves to be such a chaos of confused issues and conflicting interests, can we not seek refuge in Utopia, or, to be more precise in a dream of it, following the example of some of our most illustrious predecessors from the time of Plato downwards? And that is exactly what our author does. The Utopia that he speculates upon however, is not, happily altogether Utopian—it is not devoid of a practical interest for the erring political animals who rule and are ruled in the modern states. For, as the author remarks: "Each leading country possesses the means and the possibilities of making the most of its parliament, and of ensuring that it does its duty by the people. This clear duty is apt to be overlooked in the welter of false issues; which shortsighted deputies are tempted to raise in order to secure transient triumphs at one another's or even at the country's expense.

"No parliament is perfect. But all are perfectible". We earnestly commend this book to every one interested in the study of Government. To Indians, specially, the book conveys a message which should not be missed. For, as Mr. Keightly says in the Foreword: "Our India is just entering on democratic and parliamentary development and one hopes her guiding *intelligentsia*, especially the younger ones, may mark, learn and inwardly digest the lessons, which this survey of the position, now becoming so marked in Europe, is well-calculated to impress upon them." Those of our countrymen who think that India in order to attain her goal, not of mere political autonomy but real *Swaraj*, inward and outward, should steer her parliamentary craft clear of the Scylla

of autocracy and the Charybdis of Anarchy, the fetish of Law and Order and the wild orgy of Freedom's Battle, might do worse than reflect over the contents of this book.

H. S.

"KRISHNA OF VRINDABANA" which was reviewed by Prof. G. Tucci last month has been priced at Rs. 6 and published by the Bengal Library, Patuatuli, Dacca.

HINDI

ITIHAS KI KAHANIAN: *By Zohur Buksh. The Ganga-Pustak-mala office, Lucknow.*

Some interesting incidents of the lives of great men are here collected and told in a beautiful style. This will be an attraction in the juvenile literature of Hindi.

LADKIYON KA KHEL: *By Mr. Girija Kumar Ghosh. The Ganga-pustak-mala office, Lucknow.*

We congratulate the author for bringing out this book of action-songs and dramatic pieces specially for the girls. The style is light and most suited for the purpose. The book is sure to give enjoyment to the little girls. The pictures also match well with the poems.

MAHILA-HITAISHINI: *By Chaturvedi Dwarka Prasad Sharma, M.R.A. S. The Nawalkishore Press, Lucknow.*

This is mainly compiled and translated from the Bengali writings of the late Satis Chandra Chakravarty on women's welfare.

VANITA-VILASA: *By Pandit Mahabir Prasad Devvedi. The Ganga-pustak-mala office, Lucknow.*

Lives of 12 eminent women of various nationality are described, with some pictures and photos.

ZACHCHA: *By Kaviraj Pratap-Sinha Vidya Visarada. Ganga-pustak-mala office, Lucknow.*

A book on maternity and child welfare.

COMMUNISM KYA HAI? *By Mr. Radhamohan Gokulji, Cawnpur.*

The principles and practice of communism are described showing their various aspects.

PREM DVADASI: *By Mr. Premchand, The Ganga-pustak-mala office, Lucknow.*

Twelve out of about a century of short stories written by Mr. Premchand the best writer of short story in Hindi are selected in this volume.

ACHHUTODDHARA-NATAKA: *By Rameswariprasad Ram. Hindi Sulabha Sahitya Mandir, Barh, Patna.*

A drama on social reform of the so-called untouchables.

APNA AUR PARAYA: *By Thakur Jugal Kisore Narain Singha-Nawal Kisore Book Depot, Lucknow.*

Translation of Mr. Hemendraprasad Ghose's Bengali story *Apna-o-par*.

KUSUMAVATI: *By Babu Chandrabhan Sinha. Mokam Ratsanda, Ballia.*

A book of poems on various phases of nature and the human mind. The poet suggests in the preface that a compromise should be arrived at between the *braja-bhasha* and *khadi-boli* and Persian words also should not be excommunicated.

GO-PALANA : Published by the Indian Press, Ltd. Allahabad.

Various informations as regards the cow are given herewith pictures and diagram.

RAMES BASU.

MARATHI

THE VIJAYA-SAHITYA-MALA AND OTHER BOOKS—
Publisher Vijaya Press, Poona City.

This series has to its credit about a dozen books of considerable merit written by well-known Marathi writers on various subjects such as biography, poetry, novels, drama, science etc. *Kahin Tares* is a collection of stray political pieces composed by Mr. H. S. Gokhale. The range of subjects in this book is pretty large and the happy combination of emotion and reason displayed in some pieces appeals to the readers. The Foreword of Prof. Lagu is discriminating and impartial. *Kulbyachi Dandy* and *Pahatepurvicha Kalokh* are two novels by two well-reputed authors. Both books are entertaining and useful in their own way, though they are widely different in style, sentiment and out-look of society. *De Valera and McSwiney* are two biographies brightly written and likely to absorb the interests of politically-minded class of Marathi readers. *Santati-Niyamana* or Birth-control is a subject which is exercising the minds of a great number of young persons at present and Professor Phadke's interesting brochure on the subject will no doubt be read with pleasure by them. It must, however, be said that little good to the Society can be expected from the propaganda work of this new movement adopted from the West without due regard to the special conditions and religious sentiments which characterise Indian Society. *Khadasthak* by Mr. S. P. Joshi is a dramatic play which will entertain those who do not look for any high and noble sentiments leading to the elevation of society in drama but crave only for something likely to excite an outburst of laughter. *Gelin Panch Warshen* or the past five years is a collection of certain articles in the *Kesari* edited by Mr. N. C. Kelkar. The sub-title of the book is explanatory and tells us that the articles chosen and incorporated in the book relate the history of the five years' period viz. 1921-26,—a period as eventful as it is disgraceful in the political history of India. It was a period which saw the rise, growth and decline of the non-co-operation movement, the diplomacy of a dubious character on the part of a certain section of the Nationalist party, the incessant squabbles and wranglings among public leaders and the rabid tone of the Press of both sides. These quarrels which have disgraced and humiliated Maharashtra in the eyes of the rest of India should have been allowed to be buried unceremoniously and forgotten for ever. But it is a pity that the responsivist leaders like Mr.

Kelkar who wrote the articles re-printed in the book and Mr. Aney who wrote an appreciative foreword to their collection were both carried away by passion and both in their misdirected enthusiasm decided to give the unfortunate controversy a permanent form. The decision was quite unwise and I for one cannot congratulate the publisher on his achievement.

V. G. APTE.

MALAYALAM

SRI DEVI-HARANAM; A drama in seven acts
By Kongot Krishnan Nair. The Mangalodayam Press, Trichur. Price As. 8.

The theme of this play is based on an incident known in history. The first meeting of the hero and the heroine and their mutual falling in love are depicted in a manner quite prosaic. The play opens with a *Nandi*, and ends with a *Bharatavakya*. It starts with a prologue in the beginning, and has a *Vishkmbha* preceding every *Anka* (act.) In the matter of dramaturgy, it is a pure imitation of Sanskrit drama.

MANI-MANJOOSHA.—'A chest of gems', collected from the numerous learned articles contributed to the *Mangalodayam Journal* by Pandit P. S. Ananthanarayana Sastri. Printed and published by the Yogakshemon Co., Ltd., Trichur. Pp. 139. Price As. 12.

P. AUNJAN ACHEN.

GUJARATI

THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF DHONKO KESHAV KARVE :
Translated by Kishan Singh Govind Sing Chavda, and published by the Pustakalaya Sahayak Sahakari Mandal, Baroda, printed at the Kshatriya Printing Press, Ahmedabad. Cloth bound. Pp. 377. Price Rs. 3 (1927).

Prof. Karve, the founder of the Indian Women's University has become a man of world-wide publicity and his autobiography written in Marathi is a book depicting the wonderful personality and indomitable courage of a more poor in worldly resources but rich in determination and self-sacrifice. His life is a standing lesson to all those patriots who want to raise India in the scale of nations. The translation is very well done, and the interest so well sustained that one does not like to put down the book—a big one as sizes go—his one has furnished it.

PREMA SWARUP SHRI KRISHNA; First Part : By Mohanlal V. Gandhi. Printed at the Aditya Printing Press, Ahmedabad. Cloth bound. Pp. 252. Price Rs. 2 (1927)

"Shri Krishna, the Lord of Love," written by Baba Premananda Bharti has attained great fame as a book explaining why Shri Krishna is held in such veneration by us, and the deeper truths underlying his worship. This book is a translation of the first part of that treatise and the Notes given at the end add to its usefulness. It is sure to interest all those who have a religious turn of mind.

K. M. J.



Social Reform Legislations

Mr. Indra Vidyalkara in an article in the *Vedic Magazine* for May points out some social and moral maladies in India and urges for their eradication by the legislative bodies. Says the writer:

Look, whichever side we may, what sight meet our eyes? It is an oppressive sight of pauperism and illiteracy all around us. The people seem to be extremely discontented with their existence. They find no happiness in their lives, as they are always on the verge of starvation and destitution. Really they have no comfort, no ease, no peace of mind. How to raise their standard of living! How to enhance their earning capacity? There are twenty-seven lacs of *Sahdus* in our country, we are at our wits' end to find out means of making them useful to our society and country. Again there is the knotty problem of widow-marriage. How to persuade the orthodox section of the Hindu community to allow young girl-widows to remarry? How to get its sanction even for the prevention of child-marriage? All these reforms are required urgently for the welfare of the country at large, but reformers alone cannot bring them about in less than a century or even more. It is impossible to wait for so long a time only for such insignificant measures of re-generation. If by means of legislation our object can be realised at once, why not resort to it? The writer is firmly of opinion that legal restrictions alone can check the ever-increasing degeneration of India. It is simply an idle business to reason with antiquated *Pandits* and their so-called *Shastras*. Really "that which conduces to the highest good of society is *Shatra*." Let every reform come which is consistent with the happiness and prosperity of the people. Let even a revolutionary legislation take place which ultimately adds something to the peace and tranquility of the nation. If we wish to see an end of the curse of untouchability, let a strong, definite measure be put on the statute book and enforced strictly so as to make such inhuman behaviour a severely punishable crime. Again, if we desire our country to go 'dry,' let a Total Prohibition Bill be enacted and applied by the Executive with all the earnestness at its command. The drink evil, even a part of which cannot be eradicated by hundreds of sermons, will then leave the shores of India for good.

Khadi in Foreign Lands

The question whether those Indians who go abroad should put on Khadi dress

or not and whether it can serve the purpose has been coming more and more under discussion. Several Indian sojourners have furnished themselves entirely with Khadi suits (both woollen and cotton) from Indian Khadi depots. *Khadi Patrika* of Ahmedabad gives several such instances.

FOR ENGLAND

Sjt. Ramji Hansraj while going to England on business, got all his dresses made of Khadi. But at the last moment he had to resort to one foreign cloth suit and hence he sent us instructions for a better, softer, though a little costlier quality of woollen cloth. Now such qualities have also been made available from Kashmir.

BABU RAJENDRAPRASAD

Only last month Babu Rajendraprasad left for England attired *cap-a-pie* in Khadi.

JAPAN

Sjt. Nilkanth Mashruvala accompanied by his family had been to Japan on business. He had all his dresses made of Khadi. During his stay there he used to order out all his clothing necessities from here. This gentleman used only white Khadi cap for his head dress in Japan also.

CHINA

Sheth Maherjibhai Navroji (a Parsi gentleman) went to China all in Khadi.

FOREIGN ORDERS

Occasionally, there are orders for Khadi even from such distant centres such as: London, America, Africa, Arabia, Malaya State, Jesselton, (North Borneo) and Singapore. Several members of the Khadi Sangathan scheme also belong to these centres

The Synthetic Vision

The editor of *Probuddha Bharata* in the course of a thought provoking article states that there cannot be a more urgent task in India at the present time than the production of a large number of young workers who will represent the highest synthesis in their outlook and experience of life and reality. Says the writer in conclusion,

One great obstacle in the way of young minds devoting themselves to the realisation of the spiri-

tual world-synthesis is the superstition that religion is a life of passivity, and devoid of the glow of life that characterises more concrete struggles. Young minds want the taste of power. They seek those fields of action where they can wield great energies, and this often attracts them to lesser ideals. Let us assure them that the life of spiritual struggle, of the struggle to realise the Universal Vision such as we have discussed above, requires the greatest amount of strength. There is an amount of adventure in it as is not be met with anywhere else and may daunt even the stoutest heart. Spiritual realisation is the manliest of games and the most daring of adventures. India and the world are eagerly waiting for those brave souls who will build up the glorious future of humanity through their titanic life-struggles. Where are they? They alone can lead humanity to the land of promise.

Calcutta in 1870

Francis H. Skrine narrates his interesting recollections of Calcutta's external aspect during the seventies of the last century in *the Calcutta Review* for June, we read in one place :

The present generation must find some difficulty imagining Calcutta without pure water or scientific drainage ; without motor-cars, autobuses, tramlines, electricity and the other conveniences which render life in the tropics more than tolerable. Bishop Heber declared in his delightful *Diary of a Residence in India* ; "People talk of luxuries of the East, but the only luxuries I am aware of are cold air and cold water—when one can get them." Half a century later things were but little better in this respect. The ministrations of a sleepy punkah-coolie were far less efficient than an electric fan, and the supply of ice was precarious. In the good bishop's time wealthy Europeans cooled their claret with ice skimmed from shallow pans set out at night during the cold weather. In the twenties, however, an enterprising American made his fortune by cutting huge blocks from the frozen surface of lake near Boston and exporting them to Calcutta, where they were stored in a massive edifice at Howrah. As the precious commodity arrived per sailing ship, stocks were apt to run short at the hottest season. In such cases every subscriber received a notice that ice would be supplied only to hospitals. In the sixties of last century a method was discovered of manufacturing ice cheaply by machinery, and several plants for this purpose arrived in Calcutta. Each was bought up and sent back by the powerful Tudor Ice Company ; but it is monopoly could not be sustained, and the Howrah donjon was demolished.

Kindergarten or the Garden of Children

Srimati Susama Sen (Mrs. P. K. Sen) writes in *the Children's News* for May :

The beautiful word kindergarten which, in German, means the garden of Children is known

throughout the world unfortunately the idea that underlies it has not been vividly realised. The ideal garden of children ought to be the home and their gardener the mother. Few mothers watch the development of the child, so as to make it bloom into the Flower that it is destined to be. Instead of being under the loving care of the mother children are often put in the hands of ill-tempered and fagged out teachers. No wonder before the bud blooms, it fades away, and the garden presents a dreary desolate sight.

At the present moment in the Western countries the health, happiness, and welfare of the children are being seriously considered. Cultured women are busily engaged in discovering the right path to education of children. Only through the insight of love and sympathy can the mother direct her child's course along the right track. What are the kindergarten and the Montessori systems, but methods adapted for letting the child learn through its play. The great names of Pestalozzi, Froebel and others are associated with this endeavour to turn the instinct of play into account and make the child's play-ground its field of study. Another notable endeavour to advance education is found in the Parent's National Educational Union, which has been founded in England to bring about a greater unity in Education by securing harmony between the home and the school by co-operation between parents and teachers who are able to meet on the same ground.

We in India have seriously to think over the question of children's education and utilise all our resources of thought and action for the benefit of children. That is what makes ultimately for them building up of India's nationhood. The time has undoubtedly come when the mothers must realise their true place when the mother-heart must awake to beat not only for own selfish ends, but for the service of the nation, and of humanity. It is when we realize this in all its fulness, that Indian womanhood will attain its end and goal.

Causes of Strikes

The National Christian Council Review for June says that the hunger of an empty heart and the hunger of an unfilled stomach are the main reasons of the labour unrest in India.

We have no right to ignore, withdrawn upon a hill apart, the fact that in the plains beneath men and women and children are hungry. We are inclined at times to think that the hot-weather outbreaks of discontent, the strikes and communal conflicts are in large measure due to overwrought and jangled nerves. But neither this nor Bolshevism nor the 'labour agitator' is a sufficient explanation for what we see about us in the cotton mills of Bombay and the railway workshops of Bengal. There are two main sources for the unrest that is never still about us : first, the hunger of an empty heart ; and, second, the hunger of an unfilled stomach. We cannot afford to ignore—least of all in India—this second cause of so much distress and bitterness. There is no 'agitator' that a government has so much cause to dread as the one

called 'Unemployment,' and his dangerous influence is evident on every side of us today. There is good reason why the Jerusalem Council gave so much attention to the problems both of industry and of rural areas. It is not only among the steel workers of Jamshedpur that we see the spirit of rebellion awaking, but also among the peasants of Bardoli. We dare not turn away with indifference from problems that affect so vitally the happiness, and indeed, the very existence, of multitudes.

And suggests the following reform :

One reform that appears to be greatly needed, and that immediately concerns the employed rather than the employers, may be mentioned. It scarcely seems open to doubt that some of the leaders of the workers are seeking purely personal ends. When these leaders are from outside the ranks of the workers themselves, the opportunity for 'professional agitators' is obvious. The remedy for this evil is the training of the most capable among the workers to understand the economic situation and themselves take the position of leaders and advisers of their fellow-workers. Something similar to the institution of the Labour College in England is demanded—some means of adult training of the workers—before we can expect to find moderation and sanity in the Labour Movement.

Rural Reconstruction

The Hon'ble V. Ramdas Pantulu in the course of an informative article in *Rural India* for April gives an outline of a scheme of rural reconstruction and sketches a plan of work to carry it out. He is of opinion that social and economic reconstruction of Indian villages would not come about by gifts from the British Government but it can only be brought about by a "reconstruction of our mentality so as to make us self-reliant."

The village can be regenerated only by a reconstruction of the mentality of the villager. Charitable doles of money, or cheap money thrown into his pocket, whether by the co-operative society or by the Government, will only serve to make him more dependent and less self-reliant. If the financial assistance rendered to the ryot is not closely associated with the inculcation of co-operative principles, his position may become worse. That is why Wolff is never tired of emphasising that, the first step which the people's bank is bound to take is to make the improvident thrifty, the reckless careful, the drunkard sober, the evil doer well-conducted, the unlettered capable of using the pen. In this way it has become a moralising and educating agency of the greatest value to the nation among whom it acts.

The writer proceeds :

The next essential principle which reconstructors should bear in mind is, that their scheme should embrace all sides of the village activities, which

are compendiously described in Horace Plunkett's classification of the ten principal needs of the farmer as 'business needs' and 'social needs.' Mr. MacNeil summed up the idea in the words, "Better Farming and Better Business would be a soulless thing without Better Living. ('Better Living Societies' are a noteworthy feature of the movement in the Punjab. There are 59 societies of this description with a membership of over 2,000. The plan is most popular and gives a lead to the informal groups of caste-fellows who were already trying to reform their ways. All classes and castes have joined these societies and resolutions have been passed in various places, restricting expenditure on ceremonies, penalising cattle-trespass, forbidding the sale of daughters and the giving of false evidence, and enjoining temperance and inoculation. Fines have been inflicted and realised for breach of these resolutions. Hygienic improvements are also effected by these societies.)"

The question of a suitable agency for the propagation of co-operative principles and carrying on the work of Village Reconstruction is one of supreme importance. If the thousands among middle classes realise their responsibilities to the nation and resolve to contribute their legitimate share to the cause of nation-building, then India is certainly rich in human material. Let those who render this contribution remember that a regenerated village will repay their sacrifice a thousand-fold. Every one will be benefited. Our Educated men should cultivate a rural bias and should go back to the villages to spend all the spare time at their disposal. The student should spend his vacation in the village. Men who retire from services and professions should settle down in their village. The lawyer and the doctor should spend their holidays in their villages. The holiday-seeker must make the country side his pleasure resort. The cry of 'Back to the Village' must be carried to the door of every educated man. The village will then present a new life and a new aspect. Non-officials must equip themselves in large numbers for co-operative and rural propaganda.

Civics and Politics

Mr. P. P. Sathe in an article in the *Progress of Education* for May discusses in brief what is meant by civics and the scope of the science and advocates the introduction of subject in the curricula of the Indian Universities. He says that Civics and Political Science are very much allied but they are not the same. Says the writer :

Confusion is generally made between Civics and Politics. It is true that both the sciences go hand in hand upto a certain extent. Both the sciences postulate the existence of a State, but, their ways part here. The State is a political unit out of several and it must make itself sufficiently strong to assert its own existence in that group. The State must, therefore, be strong enough to deal with other States. This question is dealt by International law. To be strong the State has

to be more efficient. It must be efficient both to maintain its position in other States as well as to be able to do more good. It must organize as the present united whole. How to make the State self-efficient is taught to us by the study of Political Science. How to make the State more useful is taught to us by Civics. We thus find that Civics and Political Science are very much allied but they are not the same. The study of both the subjects is necessary for one who wants to take part in the development of his nation, social as well as political. It is, therefore, high time for Indian universities to introduce this subject in their curricula in these days of progress when every student would have his turn to participate in the public life of his country. The importance of the study of Civics and Politics can never thus be overestimated.

State Measures for the Encouragement of Shipping

Welfare for June publishes an article from the pen of Mr. Doongersee Dharamsee wherein he shows how in "other" countries State impetus is giving for the encouragement of shipping :

For the double objects of securing the large possible share of ocean commerce to national merchant fleet and of making the ocean traffic subservient to the interests of the production and commerce of the country, the state-measures for the encouragement of shipping in other countries have taken one or more of the following main forms:—

- (1) The Navigation laws.
- (2) Construction and navigation bounties.
- (3) Postal subsidy.
- (4) Admiralty subsidy.
- (5) Reservation of coastal traffic for national ships.
- (6) Cheap loans
- (7) Preferential railway-rates.
- (8) Training ships in all the big ports with complete arrangements for training young people as officers.
- (9) Training in Naval engineering.
- (10) Arrangements for granting employment to the trained youths.

It is important to note that almost all the countries except Great Britain have reserved their coastal traffic to national vessels. In Great Britain however there is no legal reservation, there being no necessity of it as 99 p. c. of her coastal trade is carried by British ships. The history of all the maritime countries in the world, from which Great Britain is not excluded, proves that state-aid in one form or another has played a very important part in the development of a mercantile marine.

But in India the condition is just the reverse. Our coastal trade even is in the hands of foreign companies. The hold of the British shipping interests on the Indian export trade and the absence of an Indian mercantile marine are the reasons why

the once-great Indian shipping is now left at the mercy of others.

Liberty

Major B. D. Basu, I. M. S. (Retd) writes in the same journal :

"Give me room to stand and I will move the universe," was uttered by a Greek philosopher. In the uplift of humanity also, standing room is required to effect it. It is liberty which supplies it. Without liberty there can be no progress, whether social or political. How liberty uplifts nations is well illustrated in History. Take for instance, the history of ancient Greece, Herodotus V. 78) says that

"The Athenians, who, while they continued under the rule of tyrants, were not a whit more valiant than any of their neighbours, no sooner shook off the yoke than they became decidedly the first of all. This shows that while they were oppressed they allowed themselves to be beaten because they worked for a master : but so soon as they won their liberty, each man was eager to do the best he could for himself."

Indian Cultural Influence in Oceania

Dr. E. S. Craighill Handy in the course of an illuminating article in *Man in India* (January-March) gives illustrative examples about the traits of Vedic, Brahminical and Buddhist culture in Oceania and shows that story of Polynesian culture is a mere appendix to Indian history.

The most recent phase of the movement of Indian culture eastward that concerns the student of Polynesian history is that which witnessed the spread of Buddhism into Indo-China and Insulindia during and after the seventh century A.D. While evidence of the presence of Buddhist cultural traits in Polynesia are not as clearly defined as those indicating Brahminical influence, they nevertheless do exist. In view of the fusion of Buddhism with Brahminism in Further India it would be inevitable that Buddhist traits that came to Polynesia from this region would have been obscured. An example of a trait that probably had Buddhist derivation is the division by the New Zealand Maori of their sacred lore into what they called "The Three Baskets of Knowledge," said to have been entrusted by the Supreme Being in the highest heaven to the God of Light, who transmitted the sacred lore or wisdom (*wananga*) contained in the "Three Baskets" to the Maori priesthood. The Maori "Three Baskets" of course, suggests the Tripitaka, or Three Baskets of the Buddhist canon.

Traits of the Brahminical culture known to have preceded the Mahayana Buddhist expansion having flourished in Indo-China and Insulindia in the first centuries of our era, spread throughout Polynesia. In Indo-China and Insulindia the heart of this Brahminical culture was the worship

of Siva. In Polynesia the cult of the lingam was fundamental in the ancient worship. Its manifestations in Symbol and philosophy parallel their prototypes in Saivism. And associated with this cult in all phases of the native culture are innumerable traits of Indic derivation.

A good case can be made out for presence in Polynesia of distinctively Vedic elements, but the existence of such traits as distinct from the Brahminical tradition which was, of course, based upon Vedic teaching is by no means provable as yet.

Though the title of my paper is "*Indian Cultural Influence in Oceania*" as regards Oceania as a whole only Indonesi and Polynesia have so far been mentioned. It may, however safely be presumed that cultures that have dominated Indonesia and travelled as far as Polynesia, have also contributed largely to Micronesia and Melanesia which lie between Indonesia and Polynesia.

In closing, I should like to point out that, while the story of Polynesian culture is a mere appendix to Indian history, it may be found, like appendices to some books, to contain information of prime importance to the main subject. In the isolated islands of Polynesian fringe of Further India there may have survived, there may still survive, ancient Indian lore and customs that have become hopelessly obscured or lost in India proper and colonial India.

The Dawn

Mr. C. F. Andrews welcomes the efforts of those who are striving for "the spiritual awakening of mankind" in the following words in *the Star* :

There has never been a time in human history in which, from one point of view, things have looked so dark and threatening as they do at present, when judged merely from the human standpoint.

Let me explain. Not a single man of eminence to-day is unaware of the fact, that a new war means nothing less than the suicide of the human race. The last war was terrible enough. But a single day of war on the new scale would be equivalent to a year's agony and misery on the old scale. For where, during the late war, a single aeroplane hovered in the air with its death-dealing bomb, in the new war, if it ever came, a thousand such death-dealing missiles would be hurled from the sky and whole cities could be blotted out in a single night. Even more horrible than this would be the results of chemical warfare, by which poison gas and disease germs could be made to penetrate the ranks of the enemy till complete desolation resulted.

Yet, in spite of knowledge so obvious, the preparations for war go on and the bitterness which leads to war increases. In every part of the world, we find that the war-spirit has not diminished, though the war-dread has become more acute.

Personally, I have felt in my own heart the agony of darkness during the past years. I have known what humanity is suffering and have felt conscious of the depths of that suffering. At times

it has enveloped me in a mist which seemed impenetrable and led me almost to despair. But all through these years, I have been conscious within of a new hope dawning. Even when the darkest hour seemed to have come, the light has come with it, flashing from a far. The despair which had darkened my life has been relieved with hope.

For this reason, I welcome all the efforts of those who are looking forward to a new revelation of spiritual light and grace in the future. The special method, by which the light may come, may not be clear to me, as it is to others. There are many ways leading to the same goal. But the fact of a spiritual awakening of mankind, already dawning to-day, breaking through the darkness of our age, is to me no longer a mere hope, but a certainty.

Harvard University

Prof. A. K. Siddhanta gives in an article in *the Young Men of India* the reasons of the paucity of Indian students at Harvard :

The annual number of Indian students at Harvard hardly ever exceeds a dozen, whereas there are ten times the number of Chinese boys there. The reasons for this are obvious:—The Foreign University Information Bureau in India have in many cases been discouraging Indians from going to any non-British Universities; the Government of India does not encourage boys to study along lines appropriate to American Universities; and to crown all, recent American immigration laws place Orientals in an unenviable position. Yet there are about 300 *Bonafide* Indian students in the various American Universities at the present time.

He then summarises his impressions on Harvard life as follows :

Firstly, Harvard to-day is passing through a state of 'Discontent and Self-Criticism'. She has largely abandoned her original purpose, which was the production of an educated clergy for the ministry of the Church; she seeks now not so much to produce 'gentlemen' as 'men'. And as men, the 'College boys' do honourably revolt against any old-fashioned tendencies; and they are grateful to President Elliot, who gave them so much opportunity for self-expression.

Secondly, 'New methods' are at work at Harvard. Compared with other first-class American Universities, especially the Mid-Western ones, Harvard is conservative; but in many respects one finds her quite progressive. She encourages the joint method (Tutorial-Elective) of training, and allows students more freedom, encourages initiative and develops in them a sense of responsibility. She believes in the 'Honour System' and never hesitates to give the boys more of 'reading periods' with every decade that passes.

Finally, one is agreeably surprised at the great interest the students take in College affairs. There is a waning interest in inter-collegiate games. The undergraduate 'daily' paper openly declared recently against 'Juggling with football while

studying'. The same paper, "The Crimson", published recently a 'Guide to Courses' whereby many old professors and their old courses were mildly rebuked and politely shown a new light. Prof. William James once asked Prof. Munsterberg to be 'thick-skinned'. I feel every Harvard Professor needs to be 'thick-skinned,' otherwise he will misinterpret the undergraduates' suggestions!

We in India may profitably study the following principles which Harvard follows, amongst a few others:—(1) Intellectual and moral quality of the professors leads to higher work. The University professors must be free from pecuniary anxiety and pensions must be given them in case of disability and to their families in case of premature death. (2) Libraries and laboratories must steadily improve and they must be managed almost entirely for the students. (3) The University must be in touch with the Alumni and the general public; the professors must be in touch with public life and thought through their books, lectures and addresses. (4) 'Youth' must be respected, as well as 'experience'.

Hand Bat of Indian Railway Employees

We read in the *Indian Railways*;

Public agitation over the invidious distinction between the Indian and European as well as Anglo-Indian Locomen in the matter of their pay and allowances though apparently succeeded, it does really continue to exist. The said distinction has transformed its character and has materialised in the shape of class I—illiterate with a maximum of Rs. 62,- class II—literate with a maximum of pay of Rs. 140,- of class III, European and Anglo-Indians with a maximum pay of Rs. 240.- Now in this connection, may we ask the authorities the following pertinent questions? What do they earnestly mean by the word "literate" in the case of a mechanic, while a Bengali or a Urdu knowing man is as good a worker (and occasionally better) as an illiterate English-speaking European or Anglo-Indian? Is it not an indirect mode of barring the promotion of a good many experienced and sound workers of exceptional ability? Literacy does not evidently mean in the opinion of the authorities University qualifications; because many European or Anglo-Indian-drivers, shunters, fireman have no university qualifications whatsoever. The object of our complaining against racial distinction really means that our capacity and education will be the determining factors that are to be counted in the appointment and promotion of officers. But alas we find not a single soul of the Indians in the class III grade. Does the authority mean to say that no Indian however good, is capable to hold a post in the class III grade and hence it is filled up by Europeans and Anglo-Indians?

Some Cottage Industries of Bihar and Orissa

Federation Gazette describes how some of the cottage industries in Bihar and Orissa have been working well on modern lines:

Tasar—Bihar and Orissa is the home of Tasar silk worm and in no other province of India, this variety of silk is produced in such a large quantity as here.

Nearly 4000 silk looms are reported to be weaving tasar in this province. The silk is reeled from the cocoons by the female members of the weavers family in such a laborious method that the output per reeler can only be 2 chitaks a day. The tasar silk weavers are, therefore, forced to remain idle for want of sufficient silk yarn. However those of Bhagalpur have started weaving imported spun silk thread very largely. If the local tasar industry is at all to be developed, economically sound reeling machines to reel silk of better quality should be introduced and new designs in tasar fabrics woven after bleaching and dyeing the silk, to satisfy the changing tastes of the people.

Pottery or earthenware.—No attention seems to have been paid in any part of India to the development of the pottery industry.

It is common to see a potter in almost every village toiling with his crude wheel and an equally inefficient kiln. It is surprising that the potter is still content with a wheel which always comes to a standstill specially when he is giving a finishing touch to the article he makes. Much of his time is also wasted in giving necessary momentum to the wheel which is being done with the help of a bamboo stick every time the wheel shows down. In the Punjab the potter has replaced this wheel with a treadle driven one which can be kept revolving at a uniform speed, thereby enabling the potter to devote all his time and attention to the shaping of the articles. The pots, after being sundried, are piled one above the other and baked on an open earth a process which causes considerable breakages and unequal baking of the pots. The quality of the earthenware particularly of those, use for storage purpose can also be improved by glazing them as it is being done at Chunar in the United Provinces. With further investigation and closer observation of the various processes now employed by our village potter, it may be possible to effect other improvements and economies in manufacture. In a country, where an earthen vessel is very often not used for the second time, cheap earthenware would be a great boon to poor people.

Basket making of bamboo and reed is an equally important village industry of our province, as pottery, supporting another lakh and a half of our rural population. As it is carried on mostly by "Doms," "Basfors" and other low caste Hindus, this industry is neglected and very few of us know its actual needs. The basket-maker in India is however carrying on his trade with some difficulty in spite of the absence of foreign competition in his goods. As Japanese split bamboo chinks and mats are slowly being introduced into this country, he can no longer remain indifferent to foreign competition. He will have not only to improve his own efficiency but also produce better class of goods for which there is a market.

Smithy and iron works.—A "lohar" is an essential functionary of our village organisation, for the supply of iron and steel tools and implements to our agriculturists and artisans. The iron workers living in towns manufacture cutlery,

trunks and boxes, "kudis" for lifting water, domestic utensils etc.

The principles of smithy and fitting on modern lines are now being taught to a few young men and boys in four or five technical institutes started in the province. But the village "lohar" is not in any way affected by the existence of these institutes; for, in the present state of his poverty and ignorance, he cannot be expected to leave his home and family and undergo a course of training in industrial schools. The few students coming mostly from non-artisan classes and trained in these schools, either get employed in big workshops or remain in towns where they can carry on more lucrative trade. Thus the scientific training given in these institutions hardly filters down to rural areas. The village "lohar" has therefore to be instructed how to use modern tools and adopt improved processes, in his own smithy, through itinerant demonstrators as it is being done in the case of hand weaving.

Municipal Expenditure on Education

The Educational Review writes :

It is a notorious fact that local bodies in India have not been particularly forward in incurring expenditure on educational purposes. In the majority of instances, they have been content to distribute the doles given to them by the Government and have been able to spend only a very small proportion of their revenues on even elementary education, not to speak of the fact that they have very rarely been able to do anything for secondary and higher education. *The Modern Review* has just published some interesting statistics with regard to the educational expenditure incurred by Municipal Corporations in the United States of America, which should serve as an object lesson to the local bodies in India. It has been calculated that on the average, they are now spending about one-third of their revenues on educational purposes! Some idea of the magnitude of the effort made by municipal bodies can be gathered from the circumstance that in the 250 cities containing a population of more than 30,000 each, the aggregate outlay on education was 607,059,853 dollars. The average expenditure per head was 6-30 dollars and the investments in school buildings, grounds and equipment were 2,112,000,000 dollars. We commend these figures to the city fathers in India.

The Ideal Man

According to *the Oriental Watchman and Herald of Health* the following "essentials" constitute the ideal man :

Man's first essential is pure air and plenty of it, night and day. More time should be given to voluntary deep breathing efforts.

Second in the essentials is water—pure, fresh, uncontaminated water, four to six glasses daily. Our physical bulk is seven-tenths water.

The third essentials is a full complement of vitamins known as A. B. C. D. and E. These

substances are more important for maintaining health and full vitality than the grosser food substances which compose the bulk of our diet. Vitamins are mainly found in uncooked, fresh, raw fruits, and vegetables.

Fourth:—Consideration should be given to the sixteen essential mineral salts as found in wholemeal bread, fruits, nuts and vegetables. Food must be so selected as to supply the full quota of all sixteen. Absence or deficiency in any one produces impaired health.

Fifth:—Avoid taking an excess of remaining food elements such as protein, starch, sugar and fats. Excessive food intake of proteins and starches is responsible for more ill-health than an insufficient supply.

Sixth:—Health necessitates a sanitary environment to live in. Insanitary and unhygienic practices lay the foundation for disease.

Seventh:—Daily exercise of nature to bring all groups of muscles into operation. Such exercise need not be necessarily heroic but should be done in a manner to make it interesting and not irksome.

Finally, we must stress the importance of positive, cheerful, hopeful and spiritual thoughts. The crowning glory of man comes from his thought life. A lofty mentality in a well-poised body constitutes the ideal man.

Post Office and Telegraph Budget

Sj. Tarapada Mukherjee points out some of the anomalies in the Post office and Telegraph Budget Statement presented before the Assembly in March last in *Labour*. Says the writer :

In page 2 is given the Revised Estimate of net profit or loss of the Posts and Telegraphs Department for 1927-28. The Post Office shows a net profit of Rs. 15,97,000, the Telegraph a loss of Rs. 19,89,000, and Telephones a loss of Rs. 66,000. So far so good. But on looking into the different items of expenditure I find that under the head of "Inter Branch Adjustment" A sum of Rs. 11,22,000 has been added to the expenditure of the Post Office and Rs. 4,60,000 to that of Telephones, while the expenditure of the Telegraph Branch has been reduced by Rs. 15,82,000. What is meant by the inter-branch adjustment? The expenditure of the three branches have been separately shown in the detailed accounts embodied in the Budget Statement; and unless the detailed accounts are admitted as wrong, where is the room for inter-branch adjustment of such a heavy amount? The Telegraph Branch shows a large deficit of Rs. 19,89,000; and but for the manipulation of the accounts under the head of inter-branch adjustments the deficit would mount up to Rs. 35,71,000. The Postal account, on the other hand, shows a surplus of Rs. 15,97,000; and, but for the manipulation of the accounts the surplus would amount to Rs. 27,19,000. I invite the attention of the Hon'ble Member to this matter that has been a puzzle to me and urge upon him to clear up the mystery.

Then, a sum of Rs. 3,58,000 has been charged as interest on capital outlay. But it appears from

The detailed account that the capital expenditure in the Post Office is met from the revenue of the department. How is interest chargeable on the money spent out of the revenue of the department passes comprehension. I have drawn attention to this anomaly year after year but have received no solution as yet. Will some member of the Assembly kindly have the point cleared up? But for this charge of interest, for which I do not find justification, the net surplus of the Post Office would amount to Rs. 30,77,000.

A novel system of "Commercialisation of Accounts" indeed! The accounts of the Post Office and Telegraph departments should properly adjusted so as to remove the impression that the deficit of the Telegraph department is minimised at the cost of the Post office.

Child Marriage

The Editor of *The Indian Ladies' Magazine* for April expresses her opinion on the question of child marriage as follows :

One has also to point out that, if India is to advance, which means, as all admit, that Indian women should advance, some of our old customs must be done away with, in spite of public and personal inconvenience. Sacrifices have to be made, ancient rites and privileges sacrificed ; or how shall we hope to hold our place in the line of advancing nations? And don't we wish our India to acquire her deserved tribute? Certainly, we do !

That being so then, ought we not to do everything in our power to benefit India? And, is it not good for India that her women should not be dwarfed, as they now, are by child-marriages? Even if early marriage has been sanctioned by the Shastras, which many deny, why should we not

go against the Shashtras? Have we not done so in other important matters, such as going to England, breaking caste, etc? But then perhaps, some of these contradictions are of benefit chiefly to men, not only to poor suffering women! But, even Indian women are becoming modernised ; and certainly early marriage will not go with modern customs. What is the use of wishing with one breath to give education to our women ; and with another breath asking them to marry early. How will they find time for education, if they are so early burdened with family and maternal cares? True, home education can be given ; but narrow and cramped indeed will such an education be, if it has to be wedged in between arduous labours. Moreover, such an education is apt to be merely conventional and domestic. And do not our women, I ask, deserve to be given a larger education than a merely domestic one? It is good to learn cooking and housekeeping, it is good to be able to see to the welfare of husbands and children. But, I say, that some women are capable of a larger treatment. Have not our enlightened sisters proved the point? That being so, it will be but just to give them an opportunity of testing their powers, and such a chance can only come if young girls are not married, as soon as they get into their teens, but are allowed first to be educated, and then left to choose their lot in life. Moreover, how sad it is to see our girls never being allowed to enjoy a free and untrammelled girlhood. The glory of womanhood starts, I think, in early girlhood. As is the girl, so will the woman be. But says, Mrs. Muthulakshmi, 'a new cry has taken hold of the orthodox section. They attribute the physical degeneration, the ill-health, suffering and death of the mother and infant of the Brahmin community to changed conditions, English education and Western habits.' But how, she asks, can such a thing be? How is it that the men do not deteriorate thereby. And how is it, 'that those very same conditions do not affect at all the Non-Brahmins, and other classes, who do not indulge in early marriage?' How indeed?

SONNET TO TAGORE

By MEDDIE MAZE LEBOLD

Oh poet, sage, and dreamer of old dreams,
Your gentle songs all life and love enfold.
By lanes of champac trees in flowery gold,
In paddy-fields enriched with dew that gleams,
You find a hundred plots and countless themes
For stories, with their lessons to unfold.
You set the wandering thought in higher mould
And lead us by Bengal's enchanting streams.

You gaze on clouds and strike a liquid note
Of Song, rich laden from antiquity,
While music and the melody increase.
Oh singer, bird has never had the throat
To teach us such eternal harmony
And lead us all to seek "Abodes of Peace."
4350 Pasadena Place,
Seattle, Washington.

FOREIGN PERIODICALS

The Lumbini Chorus—Buddhist Music in Japan

In course of an interesting article entitled 'the Flower Fete and the Lumbini Chorus' in *The Young East*, Prof. Takakusu gives a short account of the earliest Buddhist music of Japan originating with Buttetsu of Linyi (a corruption of Lumin, hallowed by the birth of the Buddha), and thus speaks for a 'great speedy' and healthy development of Buddhist music in Japan on an occasion in near future:—

It is the 2,500th anniversary of the birth of Buddha, which falls on April 8 of 1934. If the great fete of 1934 is observed according to our plans or wishes, Buddhist music will play a very important part in the fete from beginning to end. Throughout the festival, which will last seven days, musical performances will be one of its chief features and attraction and among others all the old Hindoo music preserved in Japan will be presented. Naturally, there will be lecture meetings, future meetings for discussion, conferences concerning activities of Buddhists, amusements, open air gatherings, and so forth. But music will play a very prominent part in creating an agreeable atmosphere in all the assemblies, uniting those present heart to heart. The newly composed music will, among others, act a part of paramount importance throughout the festival days, because it will appeal to the audience much better than the old one.

Japan, as will be seen, has a glorious past to lean on in the matter—a past in which India too had some share—

The old Japanese dance and music of the Tempyo era were for the most part of Buddhist origin. Nearly all the songs which formed the music of those old days are still preserved in the music kept by the Bureau of Dances and Musics of the Imperial Court. But, it is a pity that as stated above the music called "Bosatunai" or "The Dance of Bodhisattvas" which was one of the most genuine Buddhist musics, is now lost. Most probably the Bosatunai was part of an old poetical drama of India, which is still preserved in Ceylon and Burma, and is played every now and then.

And the future bids fair to be no less glorious:—

Dr. Levi is leaving for his country this month (May), his term of office here having nearly expired. The doctor promised the writer that on his way home, he would take into phonographic records (1) Buddhist music of Annam, (2) Buddhist music of Kambodia, (3) Buddhist music of Siam, (4) Buddhist music of Nepal, (5) Buddhist music of Burma, and (6) Buddhist music of Ceylon. The writer thinks that the addition of (7) Buddhist music of Tibet, (8) Buddhist music of Mongolia, (9) Buddhist music of (10) China and Buddhist music of make a complete collection of Buddhist musics of the world. Think of the pleasure of studying Buddhist music of the world by the help of such phonographic records. Again, if we add to the collection of Indian musics preserved up to the present, side by side with new musics of India of the present age, we shall be in a good position to study all the musics of the Orient. It is an earnest desire of the writer that the Bukkyo Ongaku Kyokai (the Association of Buddhist Music), which has just been organized, will concentrate its effort on the pursuit of such useful work.

Buddha's Birthday in New York

The Oriental Press gives us a report of the birthday celebration of the Buddha in New York, whose fitly enough the orient and the world peace was the object for discussion by participants of various nationalities and religion—

The Maha-Bodhi Society of America, with headquarters at 148 West 49th Street, New York City, celebrated the 2472nd Birthday Anniversary of Gautama Buddha with a Peace Dinner at the Aldine Club on Friday evening, May 4, 1928. The East and the West met in harmony on this, the one of the happiest day in human history. The guests of honour were Hon. F. W. Lee, Representative of the Nanking Nationalist Government of China, and Mme. Lee; Hon. S. R. Bomanji of India, lately Vice-President, Indian Chamber of Commerce of Bombay; Hon. Kiyoshi Uchiyama, Consul General of Japan, and Mme. Uchiyama; Hon. Ali Akber Kiachif, Commercial Attache to the Persian Legation at Washington; Hon. Charles Atwater, Consul General of Siam; and Hon. A. Munir Sureya Bey, Consul General of Turkey. Dr. Charles Fleischer, the celebrated publicist, acted as the toastmaster. The topic of the evening was "The Orient and World Peace." The guests

of honor spoke. Other speakers included Claude Bragdon of the Theosophical Society; Swami Ganeshwarananda of the Vedanta Society; Horace Holley of the Bahai Brotherhood; Alfred W. Martin of Ethical Society; Villa Faulkner Page of the New Thought; Charles Recht, New York lawyer; and Basanta Kumar Roy, Founder-Director of The Humanist Society. There were present men and women of all walks of the life representing almost every nation on the earth. The twain did meet on Buddha's Birthday; and this international gathering most heartily cheered Mr. K. Y. Kira, the Secretary-Treasurer of the Maha-Bodhi Society of America for his services on behalf of the Society that was found by the Venerable Anagarika Dharmapala in 1925.

Swami Gnaneshwarananda played Hindu Music; and Basanta Kumar Roy read Rabindranath Tagore's immortal poem entitled "To Buddha, on His Birthday."

Indian Women in the West

The *Message of the East* reports the celebration of the fifth Anniversary of the Ananda-Ashram:

Sunday, April 29th, marked the fifth anniversary of the founding of Ananda-Ashrama, and it was celebrated with loving spirit and great fervor. Two Services were held, one at 11 o'clock and the other at 3-30. At both, the attendance was large and enthusiastic. The subject of the afternoon was "The Pulse of Time" and the Swami spoke with great elquence. The music rendered by the Ashrama choir was unusually fine. The choir was assisted by a gifted cellist and several vocal solcists. Between the two services, a Hindu dinner was served. It was entirely prepared by the Swami who began to cook in the early afternoon of Saturday and who stood at the stove until after midnight preparing the food for three-hundred people entirely with his own hand. After the morning Service, the benches were removed from under the wide-branching trees besides the Cloister and small tables were placed here and there among the shrubbery and along the terrace. The dinner was enjoyed by a very large gathering whose comfort was looked after by the watchful and loving members of the Ashrama.

In welcoming Swami Paramananda the same Journal says:—

It is with great happiness we welcome Charu Shila Devi, the new Indian. Sister whom Swami Paramananda brought with him on his last trip from India. We cannot help but feel that this new aspect of the Swami's activities in bringing Hindu ladies to assist in the American work will be of significant value. No amount of reading from books written by globe trotters can give us as clear a view of India's life, religion and social customs as the presence of these cultured Hindu ladies among us.

Spiritualizing the Newspapers

Rightly enough Swami Jogananda pleads in the *East-West* for the above subject:—

"Blessed are those who do not indulge in sensational news."

Millions start the day with the gruesome sight of murder headlines in the morning newspapers. The sleep-refreshed young mentality stars the days race for success with the dark cloud of wrong thoughts hanging over his mind. The law of "All's well that starts well" is trampled upon.

Newspapers have more or less become the tin gods worshipped by the mass mind. They can make or unmake a man, at least in the public eye. Human opinion, however, and God's opinion are different. One forsaken by all humanity may not be forsaken by the God of Truth. One worshipped by all the world may not be true to himself. He may not be acceptable in the eyes of Truth. It is the duty of truth-loving people to reform the newspapers since they almost completely control unthinking child-like mentalities.

The Press has great liberties and responsibilities as well:—

Freedom of the press must respect the law by which true freedom can alone exist. Intoxicated with the wine of freedom, some newspapers often abuse their powers. They often do not know how to operate the gates of information. They have not learned how to exercise self-control and thus prevent the wild river of muddled information from overrunning and clogging the tank of human mentalities. Moreover, newspapers ought not to introduce poisonous news into the tank of human minds, for the thirsty, indiscriminate masses drink poisonous, unwholesome news wherever they find it and hence suffer with nervousness, worry, fear, and subconscious criminal suggestions.

A Glimpse of the East

'*The Living Age*' presents the following beautiful episode from the German of Bernard Kelbermann in *Berliner Tageblatt*:

In the court of the only Hindu temple in Leh a holy man was speaking. He looked like a wild faun, with wild black hair and a black beard, and all he wore was a dirty loin cloth. But his look was keen, and his bearing proud and self-possessed. He explained to me in excellent English the primitive paintings in the outer court of the Hindu temple. I listened to him in amazement. Where had he learned such good English:

'I used to be in government service.'

'In what capacity?'

'I served in the Indian army.'

'What rank did you occupy?'

The barefooted preacher tightened his lips scornfully. 'I was an officer.'

He had fought in France, Mesopotamia, and in the Malabar revolt. He even spoke a little French, and described Neuve-Chapelle [and the cemetery near La Bassee].

'And now?'

The beggar made a disdainful gesture, as if he were pushing aside something offensive, "One day I awoke," And on that day he cast aside everything—home, family, and position.

'Are you happy now?'

He looked off in the distance. 'Yes, I wander about meditating. What inconceivable journeys I have made. I have just arrived from Tibet from the holy lake of Manasarowar.'

'What do you live on?'

'Whatever I am given. I need nothing.'

With the able and learned Bishop Peter of the Moravian Mission, one of the few real Christians I have ever met in my life a similar holy man, a real Sadhu, who had spent the last year and a half in a woodshed. This Sadhu had reached such a degree of indifference and humility that he ate out of the same dish with the dogs.

Soviet Student Life

Poverty and nervous afflictions are rampant in the Universities' tells us the *Pravda* (reproduced by *The Living Age*).

Two thirds of the students at the Second Moscow State University live on twenty-one to twenty-five rubles a month (about twelve dollars), and twenty-seven per cent get along on even less. This means that most of them spend only ten kopecks on breakfast, twelve on dinner, and nine on supper. Nearly all the students eat at the Moscow Social Relief kitchens, where the food is neither good nor nourishing, and frequently contains insects. Forty per cent of the students are undernourished and the rest are half hungry, or even famished. Their living quarters are miserable, and they seldom take baths or change their underwear.

Under these conditions it is not, perhaps, surprising that the relations between the sexes should be conducted on a higher plane than seems to exist at our own co-educational institutions. Questionnaires prove that only twenty per cent of the students stand for casual, temporary relations; the rest prefer a stable married life. The girls are treated with increasing politeness. Fewer distinctions are drawn between Party and non-Party members, and a more friendly atmosphere prevails.

On the other hand, a new ambitious type is beginning to appear. This brand of student wants a snug berth for himself, and is inclined to look down on women. The reason for this may be that the female students are of a higher standard than the males—supposedly because the present epoch encourages the feminine temperament. The old-fashioned girl is going out of style and is being replaced by up-to-date young women, full of initiative, and eager to change and influence their men or man, as the case may be. If present tendencies continue, the Russian male will be reduced either to a sort of drone or to a self-seeking opportunist, while the real progress of the country will rest in the hands of the women.

There is, however, some ground for optimism. Since education cannot be easily come by, it is valued enormously, and the students work from twelve to thirteen hours a day, and even more.

Nervous afflictions, loss of sleep, and lack of exercise accompany this state of affairs, which should certainly tend to arrive at some sensible balance in the course of time. The Communist League rejoices over the fact that ninety per cent of the students read the newspapers, forty per cent the magazines, and twenty-eight per cent books on social problems outside their regular work. The teachers all agree that interest in study has grown perceptibly of recent years, especially along philosophical, ethical, hygienic, and theatrical lines.

Dr. and Mrs. Sudhindra Bose honoured in America

The Hindustanee Student reports regarding Dr. and Mrs. Sudhindra Bose, whom the mother country has been so glad to receive though for a short time—

Letters of appreciation of the valuable services rendered to the cause of the Hindustan Association of America by Dr. Sudhindra Bose, one of the founders of the Association and its former president, reached Dr. J. T. Sunderland who was presiding at the 'Farewell Dinner-Reception' arranged in honor of Dr. and Mrs. Bose by the members of different organizations in New York City on March 25th at the Ceylon India Inn.

He (Dr. Bose) has been interpreting India to America in a true light, and he is one of those energetic pioneer students from India whose efforts have resulted in a public appreciation of Indian culture—in America" wrote Mr. B. S. Sindhu of Michigan University, the present President of the H. A. A. Similar commendation of Dr. Bose's work came from many chapters: Massachusetts, Pittsburgh, Utah, Chicago, New York, Cornell, Iowa, and from Mr. P. C. Mukerji, Chairman of the Committee on International Federation of Indian Students of which Dr. Bose is a member.

The members and friends at the gathering (about 150 in number) and the chairman of the evening wished him and Mrs. Bose bon voyage.

Swedish Students as anti-drink Workers

It fills one with hope to learn from *the International Student* that Swedish students are going on anti-alcohol lecture tours—

THE leaders of the Swedish Students Abstinence Society regard the lecture work they have organized as perhaps the most valuable task that they have undertaken in their educational work against Alcoholism. On one hand, it seeks to bring information on the temperance question to the younger students and the boys and girls in the schools of Sweden; on the other hand, add new members as a result of the work done by S. S. U. H. and keeps former members active.

A number of young men and women, mostly university students, selected by the Central

Board, are sent out on circuits, or separate lecture engagements, especially in the fall months, to various parts of the country. These speakers visit the local groups connected with the society and deliver lectures at meetings of the society and the public gatherings arranged by these local societies; they work for the distribution of temperance literature.

Egyptian Independence—and India

Dr. Taraknath Das writes in *The Chinese Students' Monthly* on the Egyptian Independence and India.

Great Britain has theoretically acknowledged the independence of Egypt; but in actual practice Egypt's sovereignty is limited. Under the garb of protecting the interests of foreigners, the British Government maintains the right to interfere in Egypt's internal affairs. Great Britain infringes upon Egypt's territorial sovereignty by maintaining British troops on Egyptian soil. Lastly, Egypt does not enjoy the freedom of carrying on foreign relations to promote her best interests.

The Egyptian Nationalists, the followers of the late Zaglul Pasha, are determined to remove these limitations of sovereignty of their motherland and make her truly independent of foreign control. On the other hand all the political parties of Great Britain are imperialistic in action. They are virtually united in following the policy of preserving the British Empire at any cost.

Egypt will have a bad time of it for

Today, as a matter of general principle, Great Britain, France, Italy and Spain, to preserve their North African colonial empires, are agreed to follow a uniform policy of keeping the North African peoples under subjection.

Willingly or unwillingly, India will be made to share the guilt though not the gains will go to her masters:

British authorities are hoping that communal struggle between the Hindus and Moslems of India will prevent the Indian Nationalists from making their agitation effective. They are depending upon a section of Moslem Indian leaders (especially of the Punjab and Bengal) to support the British Indian Government against the Indian Nationalists. They are hoping that the demand of Moslem Indians will afford splendid opportunity to perpetuate "Communal Representation" which is bound to promote communal distrust and conflict and hinder the cause of national solidarity.

Many Moslem Indian supporters of the British autocracy in India are Pan-Islamists. However, it is a fact that for some peculiar reasons they do not seem to realize that India holds the key to the solution of international problems affecting the Far East, Central Asia, the Middle East and the Near East. They seem to ignore the fact that unless the people of India become masters of their own country and control Indian's Internal Affairs, National Defense and Foreign Policy, one of the Islamic countries, now under British control and

domination, can never assert their complete independence.

It may be safely asserted that as long as Britain holds India in subjection, she, for the purpose of retaining control over the sea route to India, will maintain some form of control over Egypt. Thus some day after the Indian people will recover their national freedom, the final act of Egypt's struggle for independence may be enacted in India.

In this connection it should be noted that the All-India National Congress, during the last session held at Madras, adopted a resolution in favour of Egyptian independence.

East and West to Indians in West

The Edinburgh Indian says its Editorial:—

There is an inner contest between East and West. The East has survived because of its culture, and the West is now leading because of its tremendous success in physical science. On the one hand, the West is now transplanting thoughts of the East. On the other hand, the East is tempted to follow in the footsteps of the West while watching its new lead. After years of struggle the West has learnt how to face troubles and why strength is necessary, but the East has learnt what is perhaps a more important lesson—that though old age may bring wisdom through experience, it also brings weakness. To-day we find the West sending its people to the East as traders, soldiers and governors, while the East sends only students—students to know how to assimilate what is best and beneficial in the West. Thus their purpose is not similar. The object of the one is to preserve, and that of the other is to observe, and thereby revive. The contest lies not in the purpose, but in the speed to gain security for the purpose.

Not very far back from our present age in the history of man there was a time when the purpose of various nations of the world was directed towards the extension of area of land under domination. For some, perhaps, it was necessary for the material maintenance of their well-being, but for others it was just a curious game for some it was for the struggle for existence, for others it was an attainment of fashion of the age. We shall not be far from the truth if we say that Europe was not out of that pursuit. To capture land and utilise it to every possible extent was the clamour of instinct of nations then. When such was the state of things outside, East was musing upon its glory achieved in the past. Unguarded as it was, East lost many of its brilliant jewels, not to shine again. What was fashion (call it necessity if you like) some years ago, has now taken the shape of "policy." Policy of the present age is to maintain things gained in the past. Thus we will not have much to say against the Indian Reform Commission when its report will be announced, for we know that no Commission can give what India wants to-day. It is the Indian people alone who must work for their own salvation.

League and China

On the Chinese appeal to the League of Nations concerning the Japanese invasion of Shantung, the following observations of *The Japan Weekly Chronicle* will be read with interest:—

Long ago, when the League of Nations was still an ideal, people had an idea that when such a body came into being there would be a sort of supreme court of appeal. If a weak nation complained that it was even threatened by a strong one, wise and impartial representatives of the Powers, it was supposed, would examine the case, and decide whether the complaint was a just one. If the weaker power's fears turned out to be unfounded, the wise men would not thereupon be scornful, but would search into the causes for such disturbing suspicions, and have them removed. However, the League has never operated that way. There have been national disputes since its formation; it started quite well, with Sweden and Finland agreeing to leave the settlement of the Åland Island dispute to the League; but that appears to have exhausted the League's capacities. It occupies itself with a number of activities, all excellent in their way, like a sort of glorified Red Cross; but when the military men get busy, why then the League seems to understand that old women must not interfere with serious affairs. A telegram from Geneva states that the appeal made by the Chinese Nationalists to the League of Nations concerning the invasion of Shantung by Japan has caused quite a flutter. This flutter is described as being due to the fact of the Nanking Government not even being a member of the League, the consequence of which, from the juridical point of view, is that the appeal has hardly any standing. If the appeal is so ineffectual, then why the flutter? But it is a strange sort of League if it refuses to listen to any communication from nations which are not members. Such an attitude reduces it to a sort of combine for self-interest, and if anybody has aggressive designs against a country which is not a member of the League, well, they must just go ahead. No cry for help from a non-member can be listened to: we should never know where we were.

The most striking feature of the business of presenting an appeal to the League is the alacrity and ingenuity with which a search is immediately instituted for reasons for doing nothing. "How can we put this troublesome person off?" is the first instinct, the Council being in fear of losing face by being defied by even a second-rate Power.

Democracy and Autocrats

Is Democracy a Failure is a vital question today and in *Current History* Ex-Kaiser Wilhelm, Benito Mussolini, and Governor Ritchie (of Maryland) say 'Emphatically yes,' while Prof. James T. Shotwell says, 'no.' In course of his reply to the autocrats the Professor says:

To conceive of democracy in terms of the mob is as unfair as to conceive of autocracies in terms of a Nero or an Ivan the Terrible.

Instructive are the ideas of the historian regarding the best form of government and Democracy:—

This brings us to a point which somehow is often forgotten in this world-old controversy as to the best form of government. We keep forgetting that we cannot get rid of the "people" by concentrating our attention upon the monarch. They are always there, just as much there in monarchies as in republics; and their interest in their own betterment is a continuing one under all forms of government. Now after centuries of experimentation, we are finding that there is only one path of progress which does not turn back upon itself, and that is through the education and advancement of the entire nation. Education is as definitely called for in the field of politics as in art or science or literature; for politics is, after all, a part of the art of living. In its theoretic aspects it plays with the forces of economics, national characteristics, geographical situations and the changing phenomena of material forces, as well as the inherited strength of ancient and accepted ideals and in institutions pertinent to its need, it builds the architecture for a society to live in. Democracy is a nation at school studying the great theme of human adaptation. But it should not be forgotten that this schooling has only just begun; for there never were any complete democracies in the world before our day. There was slavery to falsify its antique counterpart; there was privilege to modify and limit its capacities in the early modern period. Its advent is so recent that only now has it begun to grapple with the final problem of its great concerns, namely, the inter-relation of the States in which it has taken its most enduring form.

DEMOCRATIC EXPERIMENTS STILL EVOLVING

This newness of democracy means that it has not by any means completed any of its experiment. It is still working with a parliamentary form which it has inherited from the earlier days of the formation of the national State, when representation rested primarily upon the basis of an agricultural society. Representation according to localities is the simplest and oldest method that has been devised, and is valid in so far as these localities have political personality based upon local interests and points of view. But the cross-section of any nation that has achieved industrial democracy is not the same as that of the agricultural era, and representative government must take account of the transformation that is going on within the State and adapt itself to the new situation. There will be, therefore, many changes in the form of democratic government with reference to the problem of representation.

Post War German Mind

Post War Germany is to some a future term, to some others a helpless object of

pity, to others again a curiosity; but to all Germany is of engrossing interest, and it will be of interest to us all to hear one of the greatest German novelists of the day, Lion Feuchtwanger, the author of 'Jew Suss,' and 'The Ugly Duchess,' on *The German mind* in the *London Express*.

"There is much talk in Germany just now of what is known as 'Sachlichkeit'—'thingliness,' a practical realism which insists on getting down the brass tacks of life. Berlin is fond of calling itself the most American city in Europe. It is 'the thing' to laugh at enthusiasms and force down emotions to the sphere of things measurable and real.

"As soon, however, as you pass beyond the newspapers and literary coteries, and leave the great city of Berlin, you find that all this Americanism is external. It is paint; a modish pose which has no bearing on the true character of the nation.

"If you want to find a factor common to every German, a dominant characteristic in terms of which you can calculate all his other peculiarities, you had best turn to his bourgeois idealism. "Yes, despite all his shrieking protestations of Americanism there is still a wealth of religion and metaphysical speculation in the German."

Surprise may follow Herr Feuchtwanger's next assertion—that politics "do not appeal to the German, foreign affairs leave him cold, and the class-war interests him little." Then—

The musical feeling of the German is right down deep within him. It is surprisingly sure and swift to condemn the cheap and inartistic. "He has little love of pomp, but great sympathy for well-produced drama. His craving for culture is constant, hard to satisfy, and often rather pedantic.

"German literature is not light and pleasant, but the Germans write and read more books than any other people under the sun. Their scientific literature is more theoretic than practical—it is twice as comprehensive as that of any other race, and is absorbed not merely by a narrow circle of scholars, but by the whole country. "The German inquires 'Why?' and 'Wherefore?' oftener and with greater insistence than any other nation. Less frequently than others he asks 'What for?' and even then he does not press overhard for an answer. "Despite his lip-parade of practical realism and his much-talked-of business instinct, the German is a fundamentally reflective being. He is slow to the point of awkwardness, kindly, heavy-mannered, contemplative, and reliable.

No Speed Limit

'Speed' is the cry of the age, and Prof. A. M. Low is of opinion (as can be seen from his article in the *Daily Mail*) that there is no speed limit for man:

"That every one should appreciate the importance of speed is very material. We must accustom ourselves to the idea that in the future 500 miles

per hour in the air will be an every-day—or night—affair.

"There is no limit. The suggestion that speed will kill is as out-of-date as the famous medical expression of opinion eighty years ago to the effect that sixty miles per hour might be fatal to the heart's action.

"Speed is so relative that without its accompanying sensations it is virtually unnoticeable. The rapid development of engines, of electrical methods of transmission, and the economical use of fuel are all leading to a decreasing weight and an increase of speed in our travelling vehicles. When we remain in constant touch with homes and offices throughout our tours all over the world at speeds which will render it possible to pay week-end visits to India, we shall lose the fear of bodily translation, and we only look for more comfort or new means of thought transmission in order that our dwindling bodies can be saved from all exertion.

"In motor-cars it is not only high speed that causes danger, it is the immense forces produced by changing the direction of motion of a relatively heavy body. In airplanes we may travel so fast that the heating effect of the air becomes important. Even to day it is necessary to get rid of the electrical charges upon the silk skin of airships produced by the rush of wind. Who knows but that these very forces may not eventually be turned to useful account until we regard this world as a mere landing-ground in the path of travel so vast as to be beyond conception."

"Wide-world travel is not an accomplished fact, it is only beginning. How interesting it will be when the inhabitants of Central Africa take week-end excursions to Hyde Park on Sunday morning, or when the necessary power is transmitted over half a continent from centralised coal-mines."

Marriages and Divorce which win the day:

In this age of speed 'speedy divorces' are not however, so much in the air as they are taken to be. The *Literary Digest* quotes Judge Appell from the *Baltimore Sun* to prove that old-fashioned marriages are still in fashion:—

"In this country marriages were 8.7 a thousand of population in 1890; they were 10.2 a thousand in 1906; they averaged 10.52 a thousand for the years 1922-25.

"Thirty-eight per cent. of the inhabitants of the United States were married in 1910, according to the census figures for that year. This proportion had increased to more than 40 per cent. in 1926. Despite a prevailing opinion to the contrary, our people are continuing to marry in normal numbers. The figure of a 25 per cent. fall in marriage licenses can reflect nothing but a local or temporary fluctuation.

"As for the increase of divorce, while it is rapid, it still strikes at only a very small minority of American homes. Out of something over 24,000,000 couples in this country, 180,686 secured divorces in 1926.

This much married dreaded phenomenon of the decaying American home is something that every body talks about as tho it were a fact somewhere, but always remote from our own circle of friends. Looking about us in our own neighbourhood, we see happy, prospering families, such as we knew in our youth. We do see broken homes here and there but very much in the minority.

The tendencies towards materialism selfishness spiritual insolvency and sense-gratification which I emphasized above are present and obvious everywhere. They are increasing to an ominous extent. But they still are very far from infecting the American home universally. The drift has not become so powerful as to be irresistible.

Turkey's Religious Outlook

Turkey was much agitated over the Christian propaganda in American Schools. But Turkey is fair to all religions as will appear from an article by Md. Asim Bey in *Vakul* (quoted by the *Literary Digest* for May 19, 1928.)

"Turkish laws do not permit any discrimination in dealings as between Moslems and Christians. Any one may profess any religion he chooses. Such matters of conscience lie outside the duties of government. The fact that the educational system of the Turkish republic is based upon

secular principles," adds Asim, "is not an excuse for making Christians out of Turkish children."

Silk Culture

The China Journal devoted in the May issue a great deal of attention to silk, and the following will show that there are reasons for it:—

The astounding increase in the production of artificial silk during the past few years, and the enormous profits made by the companies engaged in the development of that industry, read almost like a romance. As pointed out by the founders of one of the most important of the artificial silk producing companies, the world's population is increasing at a faster rate than can be kept pace with by the production of silk and cotton goods for clothing; which simply means that every bit of additional fabric for clothing that can be produced must find a ready consumption. This accounts for the fact that the enormous production of fabrics of artificial silk and artificial wool (for wool, too, now has a very good substitute) has not affected the world's consumption of silk, cotton or woolen goods.

Following is a table kindly supplied by the Chinese Maritime Customs Statistical Department giving statistics of the import of artificial silk, etc. into Shanghai during the past three years.

Artificial Silk Floss and Yarn.	Piculs.
" " & Cotton Piece Goods	Yds.
" " & Woollen " "	"
" " Piece Goods	"

1925.	1926.	1927.
27,233	42,781	82,169
2,191,090	3,663,698	5,130,123
183,442	368,781	221,473
1,114,229	1,151,304	869,193

The silk export trade of Shanghai is, as large this year as ever, yet great quantities of artificial silk are being used in Europe and America for the manufacture of fabrics that are finding a ready sale.

In Shanghai, perhaps unknown to the general public, a very big industry in artificial silk and artificial woolen goods has arisen. In fact, fabric of this nature is actually being manufactured in Shanghai on a large scale and shipped to Europe and America, some of the stuff being of such high quality and beautiful design as to compare more than favourably with that of European manufacture.

Strangely enough, this local production is not all used to satisfy local demand, and large quantities of artificial silk fabric are imported.

All of which goes to show how important is the silk industry, with which must be included the production and weaving of artificial silk, to Shanghai and China generally.

'Risks' in Labour life

'Measurement of 'Risk' in connection with Labour statistics' forms the subject of an informative and remarkable article by J. W. Nixon in the *International Labour*

Review, May. Risks include unemployment, sickness, accidents a 'confused Terminology' and industrial disputes, each of which has been thoroughly studied, and the writer's conclusion on their basis is this:

The problem of measuring risk has not yet been reduced to a common set of principles. Though each of the risks has its special peculiarities which must necessarily be taken into account in measuring the risk, yet there are certain common principles underlying the problem.

For each social risk, two different rates can be calculated, frequency and severity; and though in practice prominence has been given in certain social risks to the former (e.g. in accident) and in other social risks to the latter (e.g. in unemployment), both are necessary if the whole problem of the risk is to be understood. The frequency rate corresponds to the probability of an event; the chance of being injured by accident is a measure similar to that of the chance of death or the "probability of dying within the year" of the actuary. The severity rate is a measure of the loss occasioned by such events and is of value to the worker in giving the number of days of work he is liable to lose and to the employer or the State in giving the amount of compensation which may have to be paid, or the amount of

productive time lost. This rate is the one of chief value for purposes of for insurance or compensation.

There are two methods of calculating this severity rate—on which the time lost on a single day is taken as measure, and the other in which the time lost over a certain period is taken. Both of these applications are justifiable. Where the phenomenon is fairly continuous and not subject to sudden and unexpected events (e.g. unemployment and sickness) the usual method of a "sample severity rate" is satisfactory, even though there may be, and often is in regard to unemployment, a considerable "turnover". In the case of accidents, however, though statistics show that there is a remarkable uniformity in the average casualty rate over a period of years, yet within these periods the events often happen with sudden and erratic movements, and it is more desirable to calculate the time lost by considering not a single day but a long period. The source and nature of the statistics also determine which of these methods is to be used.

Hitherto there has been no general survey of the problem of social risk as a whole. In some cases, the evil has not been considered at all from the point of view of a risk. The risk of becoming unemployed by reason of a strike or lockout may be as important to the workers in some countries or industries as the risk of becoming disabled through sickness or accident, and the loss of production may be as serious to employers or the community as the loss through other risks, yet the statistics of industrial disputes have not hitherto been compiled with a view to measuring this risk.

What America thinks of the Afghan Tour

The Amir rather the King of Afghanistan is back to his territories, but he still looms large in the press of the Continent of the New World. Interesting and significant are the following remarks of *The New Republic*.

Shortly before the Ameer of Afghanistan began his triumphal tour of Europe, the papers carried an inconspicuous report of the opening of an air line connecting Tashkent in Turkestan with Kabul, the capital of Afghanistan. The line is operated by the Russian government, and connects with the air route from Moscow to Tashkent. There is no railroad across Afghanistan. The map shows how the rails have pushed up to Quetta and Peshawar on the Indian border, and to Kooshk on the Turkestan border, but the final link is lacking. The Hindu Koosh mountains may partly account for its absence, but trade history offers a better explanation. From time to time before the War, British or Russian interests would project a railroad into Afghanistan, only to find their plans obstructed by jealous Russian or British interests. So the only western approach to India was by sea the southernmost rail route across Asia was at the level of northern Manchuria, and Afghanistan remained, as Chicherin recently called it, a fortress at the junction of the Asiatic trade routes. Now this fortress is claiming new attention. The King of England gave the Ameer and his queen a

doubly royal welcome on his visit last month, never referred to the Anglo-Afghan wars, and looked away politely in the carriage when the non-chalant Ameer blew his nose with his fingers. The Russians are providing a competing entertainment; the Russians are wily diplomats and fellow orientals. Even if their hospitality should fail to outshine King George's, they would still have stolen a march on him. Amanullah is used to going home in a caravan. Now he can go home in a Russian aeroplane.

Colour Prejudice Dying

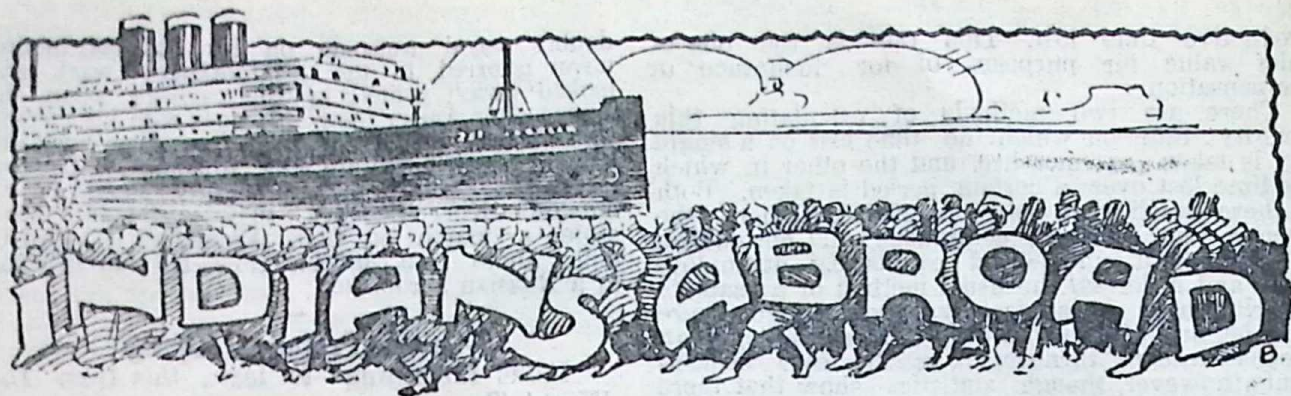
It is refreshing to learn this from *The World Tomorrow*:

Two Negroes have been asked to contribute to the new Encyclopedia Britannica. Dr. W. E. B. Dubois will write on the literature of the Negro; James Weldon Johnson on Negro music.

Pacifist-spirit

The same journal—pacifist itself—has from the pen of Reinhold Niebuhr the following on the pacifist position:

The Validity of the pacifist position rests in a general way upon the assumption that men are intelligent and moral and that a generous attitude toward them will ultimately, if not always immediately, discover, develop and challenge what is best in them. This is a large assumption which every specific instance will not justify. The strategy of love therefore involves some risks are not as great as they are sometimes made to appear for the simple reason that love does not only discover but it creates moral purpose. The cynic who discounts the moral potentialities of human nature seems always to verify his critical appraisal of human nature for the reason that his very scepticism lowers the moral potentialities of the individuals and groups with which he deals. On the other hand, the faith which assumes generosity in the fellowman is also verified because it tends to create what it assumes. If a nation assumes that there is no protection against the potential peril of a neighbor but the force of arms, its assumption is all too easily justified. For suspicion creates suspicion, fear creates fear, and hatred creates hatred. It is interesting to note in this connection how in the relations of France and Germany since the war every victory or seeming victory of the nationalists in Germany has given strength to the chauvinists of France, and vice versa; while every advantage for the forces of one nation which believe in trust has resulted in an almost immediate advantage for the trustworthy elements in the other. Hence the contest between the apostles of force and the apostles of love can never be decided purely on the basis of scientific evidence. The character of the evidence is determined to a great degree by the assumptions upon which social relations are initiated. This is the fact which gives the champions of the strategy of love the right to venture far beyond the policy which a cool and calculating sanity would dictate. It may not be true that love never fails; but it is true that love creates its own victories, and they are always greater than would seem possible from the standpoint of a merely critical observer.



By BENARSIDAS CHATURVEDI

Returned Emigrants at Matiaburz

I understand that the Government of India is now in communication with the Government of Bengal regarding the possibility of emigration to Malaya being arranged for those returned emigrants at Matiaburz who are anxious to take up employment in the country. It will not be out of place to mention here that the following standard wage rates have been fixed in certain areas in Malaya for Indian labourers on estates:

	Men (per day)	Women (per day)
Fairly healthy and easily accessible tracts (Province Wellesly)	50 Malayam Dollar Cents =12 annas	40 Malayam Dollar Cents =10 annas approximately
Rather unhealthy, inaccessible and costly tracts (Inland districts of Penang)	58 Malayam Dollar Cents =14 annas approximately	46 Malayam Dollar Cents =11 annas approximately

The Government is endeavouring to pay its own employees these rates and an effort is being made to get the standard rates applied to private employees in other areas.

It is now for the returned emigrants at Matiaburz to make their choice. If they get an opportunity to go to Malaya let them go after knowing these facts and figures. I do not know anything about the cost of living in Malaya but there can be no doubt that it will be higher than that of India. It is necessary to explain everything to these unfortunate people before their departure to Malaya.

I am glad that the Government of India is now trying to do something for these people. Mr. S. A. Waiz, Assistant Secretary of the Imperial Indian Citizenship Association of Bombay, wrote to me in his letter of 28th January:

"I may tell you that the Education Department of the Government of India is horribly slow and indifferent towards these unfortunate people.

After my last visit to Calcutta in 1926 the Government of India had definitely promised to ameliorate the helpless condition of these wretched countrymen of ours, but inspite of our repeated reminders their condition continues to be as bad as ever."

The problem of these returned emigrants has been continually before the Indian public and the Government for the last seven or eight years. After a good deal of agitation in the press Mr. Andrews was able to persuade the Indian Government to give Rs. ten thousands to the Indian Emigrants Friendly Service Committee, which did useful work for more than a year. But as soon as this committee ceased to exist the Government, so far as we know, did not do anything to ameliorate the condition of these wretched returned emigrants. A number of them died miserable deaths living as do in the most unhealthy quarter of Calcutta. If the Government had been at all careful about these people it could have done a great deal to improve the lot of these people by inviting the assistance of some non-official workers, as it did in 1921, but it didn't do anything of this sort.

Yesterday I interviewed some of these returned emigrants. More than five hundred of them have already got their names registered at the Emigration office to be sent to Malaya. There still remain a few misled by some malcontents to believe that they may be sent to Trinidad or British Guiana. Of this there seems to be no possibility. I have one suggestion to make in this connection. Leaflets written in vernacular should be distributed among these people giving all possible information about Malaya and telling these people to make their choice.

Five years ago some of these people were sent to Mauritius by the Government and most of them returned again to Calcutta to live here in those dirty quarters! It is to be hoped that the Government would give consideration to this suggestion.

Joint Imperialism and Chhota Imperialists

My notes in the *Modern Review* of March on this subject have attracted much wider attention than I expected. The Indian Daily Mail of Kenya, the Zanzibar Voice, the African Chronicle of South Africa, and the Vriddhi of Fiji have commented upon them. I have read these comments carefully and with an open mind but they have only convinced me of the rightness of the views and sentiments expressed by the poet Tagore, Mahatma Gandhi and Dinbandhu Andrews. The Poet is absolutely right when he says "Our only right to be in South Africa at all is that the Native Africans, to whom the soil belongs, wish us to be there." I am afraid our colonial critics take a different attitude and thus there is a fundamental difference between our views. It is not a question of mere sentiments or over-suspiciousness as the Zanzibar Voice puts it. If our compatriots in the Colonies have an earnest desire to serve the cause of the Natives, let them do so by opening schools and hospitals for them, by living among them and devoting a part of their charities to their institutions. No doubt they have done a great deal of good to Natives but *indirectly*. Will our critics tell us how much good they have done *directly*? With the exception of the late Mr. M. A. Desai I do not know of any Indian leader in East Africa who stood up for the rights of the Africans. Let us cease to talk of the Natives in a patronising manner as most of our leaders in the colonies have been doing. The very idea of trusteeship has something of the superior attitude so frequently taken up by the "whites" and we, who have suffered at their hands, must not copy their arrogance. It is all very nice to say on the paper that the interests of the African Natives must be paramount, and that if, and when, those interests and those of the immigrant races should conflict, the former should prevail but has this noble sentiment been ever carried into practice? There is nothing

but hypocrisy behind it and we must refuse to be hypocrites even in the company of the British. The British Imperialists in India have been saying that they are the trustees of the dumb millions and we know to our cost what this trusteeship means. What reasons have we got to suppose that the British Imperialist in Fiji or Kenya is different from his cousin in India? And then what guarantee is there that we shall not be as bad trustees of the Africans or the Fijians as the British have been. The probability is that we shall be much worse. A slave will prove a much worse slave-owner than a free man. During the days of slavery the slaves received the harshest possible treatment at the hands of their own countrymen under the service of the white planters.

Mahatma Gandhi, who understands the mentality of our countrymen abroad much better than any one else, has written :—

"I fear that if the British Imperialist rulers offer the Indian emigrants in any part of the world, sufficient inducement, they will succumb and imagine that they are 'equal partners' not knowing that they are but 'Jackals'."

It will be really unfortunate if our colonial compatriots fall a victim to this policy of 'Joint imperialism' so aptly called as 'Jackal policy' by Mr. C.F. Andrews.

Fort Hare College

Shrijut Bhawani Dayal Sanyasi, a prominent worker of South Africa, has, at my request, sent the following communication about the College at Fort Hare :—

"As desired by you I give here my views regarding the Fort Hare College Scheme. The 'Gentlemen's Agreement' states that better provision shall be made for Indian Students at Fort Hare, and the Indian Community in South Africa has generally agreed to this proposal with the exception of a few short sighted people who cannot at present see beyond the political horizon. There is no fear of losing dignity or degrading oneself by attending this college which has been a great boon to the members of the Indian Community in the past. I know that Indian students had some difficulty in their meals when attending this College, but I was told by responsible people that this defect could be easily remedied provided there was a larger number of Indian students. Why should Indians object to send their children to the College? We claim equality with the Europeans and we shall have no objection if they admit us in their Colleges to-day; why then should we object to attend a Native College? Many Mohammedan and Hindu students have studied in this institution and are proud of their *Alma Mater*. The

Natives are progressing. This is *their* country and we have no right to grumble at the arrangement made by the Rt. Hon. Sastri. Of course it will be left to the leaders to decide when the final arrangement are made. The Poet, Rabindranath Tagore, has rightly rebuked Habib Motan and his crowd and he has sounded the right note at the right moment and his statement has been greatly appreciated by majority of people of S. Africa. Why should the Natives, who attend this College, be considered lower than the Indians? Professor Jabava who takes Latin and the European Professors who teach other subjects are qualified to teach students in any College of the world. I am afraid the agitation against this College is carried on with some personal and ulterior motives by people who have no inkling of what education is and I should warn the India public not to be misled by the writings of irresponsible people who represent none except themselves.

A Responsible Statement

The Secretaries of the Congress in South Africa write in the Natal Advertiser:—

"The objections raised against the facilities for higher education at Fort Hare are ridiculous and beyond the comprehension of any-one claiming that men are equal and that one's education and character should, if at all, be the line of demarcation. What one would like to say to these objectors is that if it is the proper thing to claim to sit alongside the European for your studies why not alongside a native of the country? If the European does the wrong by refusing this right, has the Indian the right to look down upon a native and refuse to sit alongside of him? We have yet to learn that two wrongs make a right. What is more regrettable about these objection to Fort Hare is that it savours of base ingratitude in return for what that institution has done for several Indian youths. We are sure if these young men who have gone to England from Fort Hare for their further studies are to learn of what is being said about their Alma Mater, their blood will boil."

In view of these opinions so ably expressed by Sanyasi Bhawani Dayal, Vice-President of the Natal Congress and the Congress Secretaries, the Indian public should reject the irresponsible utterances of our *Chhota* Imperialists.

An Advice to Mr. C. F. Andrews

The editor of Indian Views of South Africa after strongly criticising Mr. Andrews' article on the Round Table Agreement published in the *Modern Review* of April 1923, offers him the following piece of advice:—

We know we are in very bad odour with the Rev. Andrews and other of our venerables simply because we refuse to be mercenary-minded slaves of expediency—because we try to stick to the truth and damn the consequences. Nevertheless, we will venture to proffer him a word of

well-meant advice, and that is; Shun politics as you would the devil, for they are both of a kin—because Saint and Politician are diametrically antagonistic terms. To the Rev. C. F. Andrews who is a gentle, sweet, sacrificing servant of humanity—whose noble fire to serve Him and His oppressed creatures knows no bounds—who, while himself sick spends sleepless nights tending small pox victims; crosses oceans to succour the poor and the needy—To him—To this God's own good Charlie Andrews we humbly take off our hat. But to the other Andrews who—after the style of Dr. Jackyls Mr. Hyde—is budding out into a polished diplomat; who pays smiling courts to ministers and Viceroy and hobnobs with the cunning forces of politics, parties, expediency and propaganda, we would say: Please chuck it...The game is not worth the candle."

I am afraid the Editor of the Indian Views has been rather quarter of a century too late. If he had only given this wholesome advice in 1904 it should certainly have been in time to prevent the misguided activities of this gentleman. Then the immense mischief that he had done since that time would have been prevented and evil nipped in the bud, to use the phrase of the editor. The blessed Indenture system should have then continued at least five years longer and the many improvements made in the position of our people in Ceylon, Malaya, Fiji and other colonies should have been delayed at least by a decade, Alas! now it is too late to shut Mr. Andrews' activities in watertight compartments. We sympathise with Mr. Editor for the keen disappointment that is in store for him.

Though this Andrews is a humanitarian his humanity is not divided in different compartments, educational, social and political etc., and he will continue to serve the cause of India in all these fields as a humanitarian in spite of the advice of the Editor of the Indian Views.

Hindu or Indian?

Our readers will remember that His Excellency the Governor of F. M. S., while referring to the appointment of Honourable Mr. S. Veerasamy of Kuala Lumpur as a member of the Federal Council, uttered the following words:—

"Though the community which is represented now by Mr. Veerasamy is called the Indian community, we regard it as including Ceylonese, and him as especially representing Hindu interests on this Council"

It was decidedly a mischievous move to put the Indian community of Malaya on a wrong track and it has produced its desired effect. The Mohammedans of Klang

have passed a resolution for special representation !

The Tamil Nesan makes the following comments on this subject :—

"We stick to the conviction that the Indian whatever his caste or creed will ever act in the true interests of his community when he is placed in a position of trust and responsibility. In this respect we are happy to find that the Government of India has not allowed itself to be swayed by any other considerations but the fitness of the person to his task. We have in mind the appointment of the first Agent of the Government of India who was not a Hindu and the present one who is not a Tamil. The interests of the Indian labourer never suffered but on the contrary, considerably improved under their paternal care. Appropriately enough we have at present a Mohammedan of eminence in the person of Sir Mohammed Habibullah Sahib Bahadur in charge of the port folio of Emigration to Government of India. This brings back to our mind that in the last Commission of enquiry into labour conditions in Malaya it was Khan Bahadur Ahmed Thamby Maricar who accompanied Mr. Marjoribanks the only other member. All the above adds force to our contention that the Indians abroad have nothing to fear from any distinction brought about by religion or nativity. Reverting to our original suggestion we wish to add that any other line of conduct will land us in endless difficulties and greatly disturb the peaceful progress of the community in these parts.

As far as our experience goes we feel sure that the leading Mohammedans of Klang have full faith in the capacity of the Hon. Mr. Veerasamy to protect and further their interests. We are sorry for the hasty action of the misguided section and we hope that better Counsels would prevail, and correct the wrong impression created. Just as we expect our Mohammedan and Christian brethren to acknowledge Mr. Veerasamy as the Indian representative we make bold to say that our Hindu compatriots will welcome with similar enthusiasm the appointment of a Mohammedan gentleman in the Straits Council.

We whole-heartedly support the views expressed by the Tamil Nesan and earnestly request Sir Hobibullah to take immediate action to stop this evil of communalism from spreading in the colonies,

Indian Servants in Kenya

I confess that I have read without any great regret the news cabled by the London correspondent of the *Leader* that the Domestic Servants' Bill, which originally provided for the identification of native servants by finger-prints, photographs and registration, has been amended so as to include Indians also. Nothing will draw the two communities—the Indians and the Africans—nearer than common suffering at the hands of the whites. That will ulti-

mately result in common action on behalf of the two communities and thus there will be a greater chance of the removal of these disabilities. The solution of the Indian problems in Africa does not lie in "*due share* in the trusteeship of the Africans and their nomination along with the Europeans to represent native interests" but in *due share* of the suffering of the dumb Africans, who are the children of the soil and who will ultimately control her destinies.

Hindustan Ka Meva foot

Here is a resolution passed at the tenth anniversary of the Arya Pratinidhi Sabha in Fiji :—

"This tenth Anniversary of the Arya Pratinidhi Sabha of Fiji regards with contempt the words used by Mr. Chowla (President, Indian Reform League) in a meeting of the Madrasis of Suva held on 26th December 1927 to the effect that the religious people are *badmashes* and do not know religion."

The annual report of the Indian Reform League for the year 1927 contains the following words :—

There are, however, in the community, extremists who still advocate sectional unity at the expense of Indian unity as a whole, but their influence, owing to the recent formation of important associations, is on the wane. Their attitude is undoubtedly due to ignorance of local conditions, as some of these men are new arrivals in the Colony. The League trusts that these men will soon realise the folly of their actions and fall into line with others representing saner elements.

Elsewhere in the same report we read :—

"There also arrived in the colony Pandit Srikrishna, Aryasamaj preacher Thakur Sardar Singh and Prof. Amichand Vidyalkar, teachers by profession. We cannot agree with all they have said or done since their arrival, but we hope that after they have studied local conditions they will become more liberal in their attitude and act differently."

So we can easily understand for whom the hints are meant.

Some months ago I received news of an Aryasamajist preacher in a colony whose only business was to condemn the *Sanatanists* and the Muslims and now I learn that a Sanatanist has been reading 'Dayanand Timir Bhaskar' a wretched book writes against the Aryasamaj, to his audiences.

Pandit Tota Ram Sanadhya has sent me a copy of a letter, alleged to have been

writer by a Sanatanist preacher in India, who is extremely anxious to go to Fiji Islands. The letter says that the Aryasamaj was established to uproot all *Dharma* and it urges the Sanatanists in Fiji to oppose it with all their might even at the cost of their lives !

It has been alleged that some Christians have joined hands with the Sanatanists in a conspiracy against the Aryasamaj.

Where will these things end ? Has not the time arrived when our religious associations in India should take some steps to stop the undesirables from going to the colonies ? We should specially draw the attention of Pandit Madan Mohan Malvia, Lala Lajpat Rai and Shriyut Narayan Swami to this subject.

It was perhaps Bhartendu Harishchandra who used in one of his books the phrase '*Hindustan Ka Mera foot*' (Disunion, a peculiar fruit of India). Why should our Indian people be so anxious to introduce this peculiar fruit in Greater India also, we fail to understand.

Indian Education in Tanganyika

On 29th May, 1928 Sir Donald Cameron the Governor of Tanganyika laid the foundation stone of the Indian Central School at Daressalaam. After the speeches of the Director of Education and Honourable Mr. S. N. Ghose, the Governor delivered a sympathetic speech which was much appreciated by the Indians. Here is a report of the speech published in the Tanganyika opinion :—

His excellency the Governor made an excellent speech which had a profound effect upon all those present on the occasion. He said that he required no thanks from the Indian community for coming over to that place to be able to lay the foundation of the school buildings, he had nothing more to add to what the Hon. the Director of education had already said except to confine himself to two or three things in particular. First was the contribution of £3,000 by the Indian community already referred to by the Hon. the Director of Edu-

cation. H. E. congratulated the Indian community on their readiness to co-operate with the Government. H. E. joined with the Hon. The Director of education in acknowledging the debt of obligation to the leaders of the Indian community who came forward in the spirit of real service and brought to success the programme of raising the necessary funds.

H.E. further said that besides the Indian Central School, Dar-es-Salaam, the Government had in view the system of grants-in-aid for the benefit of other schools in the territory. They were preparing a code of regulations for these schools which would in due course be laid before the Legislative Council for its approval and in which, he said, provision had been made for setting up a council to deal with questions connected with the education of the Indian children. Before these draft regulations would be passed the Indian leaders would be given an opportunity to discuss them in consultation with the Hon. the Director of education and other Government officials.

Before he came to Tanganyika he had thought that while returning he should have the satisfaction to know that the young Tanganyikan, born of the Indian parents, the son of those who had been taking a large share in trade, in commerce, in public life of the Territory would now have the opportunity and the means of taking his due place in every phase of the public life and future development of the land of his adoption, H. E. wished every measure of success to the school.

Lastly, he emphasised the fact that they should not forget that they were building not for to-day, not for to-morrow but for generations and generations to follow who would continue to reap the benefit long, long after they (the present generations) had disappeared from this place. (prolonged cheers).

The Governor, it may be noted, has sanctioned £5000 for the building of this Central school,

Honourable Mr S. N. Ghose spoke of the May 29th 1928 as a red-letter day in the history of Indian education in Tanganyika and praised the Governor for his wisdom and foresight. No doubt Sir Donald deserves every praise at the hands of our compatriots in Tanganyika, for he has been absolutely just and genuinely sympathetic towards them.



NOTES

India's Congress Presidentship

Every year, for a good many years, one has been reading in the papers that the coming session of the Indian National Congress will be a very important one, that the times are critical, that momentous issues have to be settled and vital problems solved, or words to the same effect. And then it has been argued that the circumstances being such, this or that public man being possessed of this or that supreme qualification ought to be chosen to lead the army of constitutional or non-violent or *passive* (!) fighters to victory. And so some leading person has been elected president. But it does not seem that the country is on that account any nearer the goal. If, however, we are blind and do not see that we are within sight of victory, can it be rightly claimed that the nearness of success is due to some one having presided over a particular session of the Congress and not some one else? Can it even be claimed that when victory comes it would be because the country had for its Congress presidents exactly the persons it had and not others? On the attainment of Swaraj, would it be right to claim that the result was due entirely or even mainly to the *sittings* of the Congress?

This year, as in years past, a discussion is going on in the papers as to who should be elected president for the next session of the Congress. We are not among the king-makers and have not the least desire to poach on their preserve. But as journalists we may be allowed to say a few words.

For some years past the Congress has been run by the Swarajists, who claim to be non-co-operators both within and outside the Councils whereas your orthodox and old-fashioned non-co-operators waged their non-violent war only outside them. The Swarajists also profess to believe in the efficiency of civil disobedience as the last weapon in their armoury. It seems to us that, as except

Mahatma Gandhi, no other past president of the Congress ever led a campaign of non-violent resistance to despotism in India or abroad, and as these persons, including Gandhiji, have had their say from the Congress presidential chair, it would be a novelty and an experiment worth trying if this year we had as president one who has led a campaign of non-violent resistance in India. There have been several such campaigns hitherto: that led by Mahatma Gandhi in Champaran, Bihar; the campaigns which the Sikhs fought to the death in and about Guru-ka-Bagh, Nanakana Sahib and Jaito; the present Bardoli campaign; etc. It would be fitting, therefore, if some leading Sikh campaigner or Mr. Vallabhbhai Patel were chosen to preside over the next session of the Congress.

The Swarajist's Claim of Non-Co-operation

It has been said above that the Swarajists claim to be non-co-operators within and outside the Councils. Those who are not Swarajists have often pointed out that there have been numerous occasions when this claim could not be consistently maintained. A few days ago a correspondent sent us a note, entitled "A Swarajist M. L. A. on the Swaraj Party and its Leader," in which he gave some extracts from Mr. C. S. Ranga Iyer's "Father India." We have not seen the book and are not in a position to pronounce any opinion on the subject. What is needed is that all parties should be what they profess to be, and should claim to be what they really are. If circumstances necessitate a change of policy, there should be an open declaration of such change. The extracts sent to us are given below:

"With the passing away of Mr. C. R. Das, the Swaraj Party, under the leadership of Pandit Motilal Nehru, imperceptibly settled down to a

policy of opposition *cum* co-operation. Obstruction, which had succeeded in Bengal in suspending dyarchy, the last achievement of the Deshabandhu, was after his passing away, suspended actually, if not verbally, as an active policy of the party. In the winter session of the Legislative Assembly of 1926-27, the Swaraj Party abstained from making, as in previous years, the rejection of the Finance Bill on the ground of "no taxation without representation" a party question. Last year, when Miss Mayo's "thrice damned" member of the Swaraj Party moved the rejection of the Finance Bill, he was clearly incurring the displeasure of the mighty stalwart who led the Party. The Secretary and the whip of the Swaraj Party remained neutral when the motion was pressed to a division. The leader of the Party was absent from the House, only irresponsible extremists like Lala Lajpat Rai, also known as "the Lion of the Punjab, and Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, also known as the "Dharmatma" (the soul of goodness), and their satellites voted for the extreme step, but not the saner Swarajists. Surely this is not Swarajist obstruction, but plain and simple co-operation." Pp. 151-52.

"Pandit Nehru has roused the suspicion of the extremists in the country, who fear that he and his party might even secede from the Congress like the old moderates and go over completely to the side of the Government and work the Reforms, if the Government accept the compromise, which clearly falls short of Dominion status. If he has roused their suspicions, he has done so deliberately and with open eyes. The Pandit has never been a believer in the spiritual idealism of the East, or the Socialism of the West. He is a man of the world with abundant commonsense and a penetrating head for practical politics. So far as temperament, taste and outlook are concerned, he has more in common with the conservative aristocrat of England than middle-class Liberal and Labour Parties," P. 155.

The Next Congress Exhibition

The papers are discussing what things are to be allowed to be exhibited in the next Congress Exhibition in Calcutta. It is, we suppose, correct to assume that these latter-day Congress Exhibitions are Swadeshi exhibitions. If so, evidently only those things ought to be exhibited there which are Swadeshi. In the widest sense—a sense which would suit the purposes of the foreign administrators and exploiters of India alike, everything made in India is Swadeshi. But there is another meaning of Swadeshi more acceptable to Indians and more in accord with the spirit of the Swadeshi movement. Mind is superior to matter and man to materials. In India that alone is a genuine Swadeshi article which is produced by a combination of Indian skilled and unskilled labour, Indian capital and Indian direction and management. Pre-

ferably such labour, capital, management and direction should be entirely Indian. But unless these are Indian at least for the most part, the goods produced cannot be considered Swadeshi. If the machinery and the raw materials be also Indian, that would be a matter for satisfaction. But as India does not manufacture most kinds of machinery, the use of machinery made abroad has to be allowed, and there is no harm in using imported raw materials also, where necessary. But foreign machinery ought not to be allowed to be exhibited in a Swadeshi exhibition.

Crusade against the City College

The Amrita Bazar Patrika, which is a paper owned and conducted by Hindus, writes :—

No student will be admitted into any of the Colleges in the Punjab unless he signs a pledge, at the time of admission, that he will take no part in political activities of any kind as long as he is a student of that college. If students in the Punjab have any sense of self-respect they will give a wide berth to Government Colleges. But we are not very sanguine, for we find that, in Calcutta, Colleges from which students have been expelled or otherwise punished for participation in politics continue to draw as before a large number of students while all the fury is reserved for a College, the politics of which has all along been ardent nationalism, but which had the temerity to claim some indulgence for the religious faith of its founders and conductors.

The college referred to is the City College of Calcutta.

Our contemporary adds :

There are colleges in which the hearing of lectures on the scripture of the religion to which the college belongs is made compulsory for all students and where even in the general classes pungent criticism is made of other religions and from where politics is banned. But these colleges have all along challenged the students to do their worst with impunity. How to explain this when we remember the crusade against another inoffensive denominational college? The matter is one of psychological speculation. People who are themselves weak have an instinctive desire to persecute others who are weak like them. These very people will, however, avoid taking up the challenge of the strong. The well-known story of 'Brahma' and the deputation of goats readily comes to mind.

The "inoffensive. denominational college", referred to above is the City College.

In the prospectus of the C. M. S. St. Paul's College in Calcutta, which is given to all students who want to join it, the following sentence, framed within two thick black upright lines, occurs under the heading, "Religious Life and Teaching" :

"Full liberty of conscience in the matter of personal devotions is given to all students; but no acts of corporate worship which are contrary to Christian principles are allowed in the college, or in any of its attached messes."

In the City College and in the Ram Mohun Roy Hostel and messes attached to it, "full liberty of conscience in the matter of personal devotions" has always been given to all students, the only restriction being that in the Ram Mohun Roy Hostel no acts of corporate worship which are contrary to Brahmo principles have been allowed. The City College has, however, agreed to open an "attached mess" for orthodox students of any sect where they may perform corporate acts of worship according to their faith, provided at least thirty such students of a sect apply for this privilege. In the City College, unlike some Christian Colleges where "hearing of lectures on the scriptures" "is made compulsory for all students," there is no compulsory attendance at any kind of religious lecture or service.

But in spite of these differences between the City College and some Christian Colleges all the fury of some self-constituted defenders of the Hindu faith is reserved for the City College! The explanation implied but not expressed in words in the passages quoted above from the *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, is that these crusaders and their followers are not exactly heroes.

They have, in addition, little regard for truth.

The student crusaders and some of their leaders started by stating that of the total amount subscribed for the City College more than 75 per cent. was subscribed by Hindus, and that the contribution made by Brahmos was insignificant. This statement has been repeatedly contradicted. It was contradicted for the last time in the *Asadh* number of *Prabasi* (published on the 14th June last), which published a full list of the principal donors and showed that more than two-thirds of the total amount was subscribed by Brahmos and the balance by persons belonging to the Hindu, Christian, Muslim and Sikh communities. But the falsehood is repeated in "An Appeal to Brahmo Samaj and College Authorities", published in the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* of June 22 last. This "appeal" has been issued over the names of the following persons:—

Mahamahopadhyay Pandit Panchanan Tarkaratna;
Mahamahopadhyay Pandit Lakshman Sastri Dravid;
Mahamahopadhyay Pandit Bamacharan Nyayacharya;

Maharaja Sir Manindra Chandra Nundy; Subhas Chandra Bose; Mahamahopadhyay Pandit Durga Charan Sankhyatirtha; Pravupada Atul Krishna Goswamy; Rai Dwarakanath Chakravarty Bahadur; Tarakanath Mukherjee, M. L. C.; Hon'ble Lokenath Mukherjee; Prof. Jitendralal Banerjee, M. A., B. L. M. L. C.; Durga Charan Banerjee; J. C. Banerjee; Bijoy Chandra Singha; Dr. Promotha Nath Nundy; Mr. D. P. Khaitan; Dr. Baridbaran Mukherjee; Hemendra Nath Sen; Santosh Kumar Bose; Kaviraj Siva Nath Sen; Jyotiprosad Sarbadhicary; Prabhudayal Himatsinghka, M. L. C.; Kshitish Chandra Chakrabarty; Gobinda Chandra Dey Roy; Swamy Jnanananda.

We need not examine the other oft-repeated and repeatedly contradicted false allegations contained in the "appeal," that relating to donations being quite sufficient for our purpose, as it is a question of simple arithmetic.

We cannot hold the gentlemen whose names are printed above responsible for making false statements, as we do not know whether all or any of them have really signed the "appeal." But if any of them have really done so after reading it, they are guilty of making false statements, some or all, it may be, unconsciously.

Soviet Russian Opposition to Asian Nationalism and Pan-Asian Movement

The Chinese Students' Monthly for March, 1928, published an excellent article on "National and Colonial Revolution" by V. J. Lenin. This article contained several valuable and interesting excerpts from the writings and speeches of Lenin dealing with the colonial and national revolutionary movements. The following extracts will give the fundamental principles on which the Soviet authorities are interested in supporting the cause of nationalism in Asian countries and opposing it (nationalism) and the Pan-Asian Movement.

It is necessary to combat the Pan-Islam and Pan-Asiatic and similar tendencies which strive to combine the struggle against European and American imperialism with the growing power of Turkish and Japanese imperialism, of the nobility, large landlords, the priesthood, etc.

Particularly necessary is it to give special support to the peasant movements in backward countries against all manifestations or survivals of feudalism. Efforts must be made to make the peasant movement assume a more revolutionary character and wherever possible to combine the peasants and all the exploited in Soviets and in this way to bring about the closest possible alliance between the West European Communist proletariat and the revolutionary peasant movements in the East, in the colonies and backward countries generally.

It is necessary resolutely to combat the attempts made to paint non-Communist revolutionary liberation tendencies in backward countries in Communist colors. It is the duty of the Communist International to support the revolutionary movements in colonies and backward countries only for the purpose of enabling the elements of future proletarian parties, Communistic not only in name, in all backward countries, to be grouped and trained to recognize their special tasks of fighting the bourgeois democratic movement in each country. The Communist International must enter into temporary agreements and even alliances with the bourgeois democracy in colonies and backward countries, but must not merge with it, but preserve the absolute independence of the proletarian movement, even in its most rudimentary form.

It is necessary persistently to explain to and expose before the masses of the toilers, particularly of the backward countries and nations, the systematic deceit which the imperialist powers, aided by the privileged classes of the oppressed countries, perpetuate by setting up alleged politically independent states which in fact are completely dependent upon them economically, financially and in a military sense. In contemporary international conditions, there is no salvation for the dependent and weak nations except in an alliance of Soviet Republics.—*Thesis on the National and Colonial Question* (1919).

It must be recognised that the Soviet Russian Government in the past supported the Turkish Nationalists under the leadership of Mustapha Kemal Pasha, and also the Chinese Nationalists under the leadership of Chiang Kai Shek and others. But true to the principle of "*fighting the bourgeois democratic movement in each country*," the Soviet agents' activities have proved to be disruptive of nationalist solidarity both in Turkey and China. There is much talk about establishing a socialist government in India and international solidarity with the socialists and communists of the world. But the thing that should receive the foremost attention of Indian nationalists is national solidarity.

T. D.

There is a tendency noticeable among some of our political and labour leaders of seeking the pecuniary and political help of Soviet Russia. We are against such mendicancy and political alliance. The Soviet leaders are at heart opposed to nationalism. They are as much interested in promoting class struggle as the British autocrats and exploiters are in the longevity of religious dissensions in India.

Nor are we in favour of allying ourselves with the British Trade Unions or the British Labour Party. We do not believe in the disinterestedness of these and other similar

bodies in other European countries. India's welfare must depend on her children learning to stand on their own legs.—Editor. *M. R.*

Dacca University (Amendment) Bill

A short Bill to amend the Dacca University Act has been published in the *Calcutta Gazette* of the 7th June, 1928. As stated in its Objects and Reasons, with one exception, the Bill deals with minor matters. The material amendment is in clause 5, which seeks to take away an important academic matter from the control of the teachers of the University.

The constitution of the University of Dacca is materially different from that of Calcutta. The Dacca University Court, unlike the Calcutta Senate, is a purely advisory body, the actual management of the University being vested in the Executive Council. The Academic Council has, as its name implies, power to deal with academic matters only. As the soul responsibility for finance rests with the Executive Council, not a farthing can be spent by anybody without its sanction, and its decision is final. At present, it consists of 18 members, 9 of whom are non-teachers. The Academic Council now consists of about 20 members, all of whom except the Librarian are teachers.

Section 20, clause (c) of the Dacca University Act, 1920, runs thus—

"The Executive Council shall, subject to the powers conferred by this Act on the Vice-Chancellor, regulate and determine all matters concerning the University in accordance with this Act, the Statutes and the Ordinances:

Provided that no action shall be taken by the Executive Council in respect of the fees paid to examiners and the emoluments of teachers otherwise than on the recommendation of the Academic Council."

It is now proposed to amend this proviso by substituting the words "without consulting the Academic Council" for the words "otherwise than on the recommendation of the Academic Council."

The object of this change, as stated in the Statement of Objects and Reasons, is to 'make it clear that the final word about fees to be paid to examiners and the emoluments of teachers shall rest not with the Academic Council but with the Executive Council.' *This is not correct.* For, by the Act, as it now stands, the final word *does* rest with the Executive Council—

the proviso only gives the Academic Council the power to initiate. The real object and effect of the amendment is to take away this power, and to give the Executive Council, not merely the final word but also the first word in an academic matter.

We cannot find any reasonable ground for this change. The Executive Council already has the absolute power of preventing the Academic Council—a body of teachers—from improperly raising their own emoluments. On the other hand, the Executive Council, half of which consists of non-teachers, cannot raise the emoluments of any professorship, lectureship, etc., unless the body of teachers take the initiative. This system of mutual check, is, in our opinion, eminently desirable in the case of a university like that of Dacca. We know of at least three instances in which an attempt to import fat-salaried European teachers had to be given up on account of the opposition of the Academic Council.

In the Statement of Objects and Reasons, it is said that "this was *certainly* the opinion of the Calcutta University Commission." We confess, we are not certain about the matter. The Commission recommended for the re-constituted Calcutta University on Academic Council of 80 to 100 members, and the suggestion of the Commission on this point (see Vol. IV. Chapter XXXVII, para 46, page 393 of the Report) was made with reference to this unwieldy body. The Dacca University Act (Schedule, Clause 5), however, provides for a much smaller Academic Council. It is, therefore, not unreasonable to suppose that the Legislature *deliberately* departed from the suggestion of the Commission as to the powers of the Academic Council of Dacca. That this is so, will appear from other provisions of the Act.

When the Act was passed, it was hoped that the predominant element in the Academic Council would be European. The Nathan Committee had recommended that the staff should contain about 45 members of the I. E. S. rank, some of whom were to have salaries ranging from Rs. 1,800 to 2,000. On the other hand, it was apprehended that the Executive Council would contain a fairly strong Indian element. It was apparently thought undesirable to give such an Executive Council the power of initiative as to the emoluments of teachers,

in preference to the European Academic Council. The fact that the Academic Council of Dacca now consists (with one exception) of Indians only, is surely no ground for curtailing its power.

Rana Pratap Anniversary.

Rana Pratap Singh of Chitore has our unqualified homage because he fought for the freedom of his country. As a fighter for freedom, he should be loved and revered by all lovers of liberty, whatever their religion or race may be. Though we are not believers in caste, either in theory or in practice, we respect Rana Pratap also for opposing the practice of some Rajput Princes giving their daughters or sisters in marriage to the Mughals. For such marriages were contracted as a means of effecting the social conquest of the Hindus to stabilise and consolidate their political conquest by the Mughals. We call such marriages *social conquest*, because there was no equality between husband and wife in them—all the issue of such marriages becoming automatically Muhammadan. If some Rajput men could and did take Mughal wives, and their offspring became Hindu Rajputs, these inter-communal marriages would have worn a somewhat different aspect. Marriages in which the cult and cultures of the contracting parties are different are not desirable, in our opinion.

Delay in the Delivery of Postal Articles

Dr. Besant's complaint that some of her letters are not delivered or are delayed in delivery has received attention in the press, because she is prominent in the public eye. But such things are by no means rare. The editor of this Review received a letter from the Rev. Dr. J. T. Sunderland, dated the 3rd April, 1928, advising actual despatch of the manuscript of a book by "registered first-class mail" on that date. The letter was received on the 29th of April, but the packet containing the manuscript was delivered on the 14th May, that is, a fortnight later. Delay in the delivery of literary contributions to the Modern Review sent by certain contributors from abroad is usual. Unless postal articles sent from abroad are registered, the date of delivery can not be proved. For in Calcutta (we do not know what the

practice is elsewhere) ordinary foreign letters do not bear any post-mark indicating the day and hour of delivery.

Unemployment in Bengal, and High Education

Statements relating to the financial condition of the Calcutta University have appeared in many papers, in some cases with comments on the same. We also feel bound to contribute our quota of comments. Before proceeding to do so, we wish to draw the attention of the reader to some remarks on the subject which have appeared in the *Bengalee*. It writes :—

A somewhat anxious situation has arisen at the University on account of its rapidly growing expenditure and diminishing income. The Post-Graduate Department shows a forty per cent. falling off of its students and the University Law College of at least thirty-three per cent. The 'students' fees which are a large source of income have thus decreased; on the other hand, the increased emoluments of teachers in these departments as well as other commitments have led to an abnormal growth of expenditure. The reason for the decline in the number of students is easily discovered, not in the alleged unpopularity of Mr. Jadunath Sarkar, as was foolishly done by "Forward", but in the unemployment problem.

That the decrease in the number of students is not in the least due to the alleged unpopularity of Mr. Jadunath Sarkar, is quite true. But neither is it due solely or mainly to the unemployment problem. That problem has existed for at least more than a decade and was discovered long ago. It is not a year-old or two or three years old problem that it should now suddenly affect the number of students.

It is not merely in the post-graduate departments or in the university law college that there has been a falling-off in the number of students. The number of candidates for the Matriculation, I. A., I. Sc., B. A. and B. Sc. examinations has also fallen, and the number of B. A.'s and B. Sc.'s has consequently decreased. That in itself would naturally mean a diminished enrolment in the university classes. The decrease in the number of under-graduate candidates for examinations is due partly to the fact that the university no longer, directly or indirectly, pursues the "ideal" of having as large a number of candidates and passing as many of them as possible, irrespective of their intellectual attainments. Of course, the evil

has not been killed yet, it has been only scotched. The reason for the erstwhile artificial inflation in the number of candidates and passes is to be found in the fact that the larger that number, the larger was to be the fee-income and the income from the sale of the university publications prescribed for the examinations, thus providing ample resources for patronage, nepotism and favoritism.

There are critics who seem to consider the spread of secondary, collegiate and university education as the only or the main cause of the unemployment problem in Bengal. That is not a correct view. Do matriculates who never graduate, do graduates who never pass the M. A., M. Sc. or B. L. examinations, get plenty of jobs? Or, are there plenty of jobs for even absolutely illiterate Bengalis? The unemployment problem in Bengal would remain at least as acute as now even if all the schools, colleges and universities were closed to-morrow. The number of the really unemployed would in that case remain substantially the same, though there might be an *apparent* decrease in their number owing to there being less applications for clerkships, etc.

That foreigners and non-Bengali Indians in large numbers can earn a decent living and even get enormously rich in Bengal shows that money can be made here by Bengalis also, provided they would turn their hands and their minds to all those avocations which make others well-to-do or wealthy. Scotland, England, Belgium, Czechoslovakia, France, U. S. A., Japan, Germany, etc., from which foreigners come to Bengal to exploit its resources, and become rich, have all populations proportionately far more literate than Bengal, and the number of Universities in those countries is larger in proportion to their population than in Bengal. But in those countries there is also ample provision for technical, industrial and technological training, which is not the case here. It is some times asserted that in Bengal secondary education is more widespread than even in England. Those who say so are misled by the name "secondary". The pupils in the highest classes of Bengal secondary schools know less than the pupils in the highest classes of English elementary schools, generally aged 14 or 15, which is due in part to the fact that our secondary school children have to learn mostly through

the medium of a foreign tongue. To arrive at a comparative estimate of the number of children of a certain age possessed of a certain amount of knowledge in England and Bengal, one should, therefore, take the enrolment in the highest classes in elementary schools in England and that in the highest classes in secondary schools in Bengal.

But that is a digression. What we drive at is that in order to solve the problem of unemployment in Bengal, it is not necessary to aim at diminishing the number of educational institutions and students. What is necessary is to have in addition a sufficient number of institutions for technical, industrial and technological training, as is the case in all progressive Western countries and in Japan. In order to solve the problem of unemployment, there should be a variety of careers. For that there should be adequate commercial and industrial development, for which the State in India should do at least as much as the Japanese Government has done in Japan.

Above all, the educated people of Bengal should be cured of their excessive preference for clerical jobs and the legal profession. The people of Western countries have prospered, because they have combined in their ideals of manhood those of *homo sapiens* (the man who knows or who is wise) and *homo faber* (the man who can make things). Figuratively speaking, they are devoted both to Minerva and to Vulcan.

As for the illiterate people of Bengal, agriculture is at present their mainstay. There are also numerous landless unskilled labourers who support themselves with difficulty by doing odd jobs when they can get them. But neither agriculture, nor such casual work can be sufficient for such a numerous population. Agriculture must be improved and extended. That would depend on agricultural education, fixity of tenure and the financing of agriculture by facilities for obtaining loans on easy terms. Irrigation is also required, particularly in the West Bengal districts, where Government has been guilty of criminal neglect in allowing the ancient irrigation works to become useless and in not providing new facilities for irrigation. The landless labourers can get sufficient work only if there be an adequate development of manufacturing industries in the province. Even then, however, these persons would not be able to work unless

malaria and kala-azar are stamped out in the province. For a people devitalized by attacks of various diseases for decades, nay generations, can never work as hard as labourers belonging to regions where these diseases have not done such havoc for such long periods.

Superfluity (?) of Post-Graduate Machinery in Bengal

The *Bengalee*, which is not now a days exactly what its name signifies, says, without any note of regret that we can detect in the statement that, "as students are falling off in the way they have been doing in recent years, the Post-Graduate Department will have to be closed down." We hope and trust it will not have to be closed down. In the opinion of this cynical Calcutta daily,

It was rather a generous-minded error to have started a separate Post-Graduate Department; on the Arts side at least it certainly was. Bengal cannot live on idealism alone or on a pursuit of culture for its own sake. For a poverty-stricken province like Bengal the money value of a degree can never be a secondary factor. A Post-Graduate course must be the affair of a handful of earnest and solvent students. There never is earnestness and solvency enough among our Bengalee students to justify two separate Post-Graduate machinery at two different centres in Bengal. Educational efficiency consistent with Bengal's present-day conditions can only be secured by strengthening the courses and increasing the value of the B. A. degree and not by taking away two years of every student's life, almost compulsorily, by getting him to make up for a poor B. A. degree by an at least showy M. A. degree. The Vice-Chancellor must make this his chief duty; he will be judged by the posterity according to the degree to which he succeeds in taking away unreality and pomposity from Bengal's higher education.

It need not be discussed whether the starting of a separate Post-Graduate Department was a generous-minded act; but a mistake it certainly was not. No journal has tried more than the *Modern Review* to expose the nepotism, favouritism, plagiarism, sham research, etc., of which the history of the Post-Graduate Department has furnished examples, and consequently none has been calumniated so much. But it has never denied and can never deny that this department has really done much for the cause of the advancement of learning and of genuine research. Men like Sir J. C. Bose and Sir P. C. Ray won fame as researchers not because of but in spite of the conditions of work of the Government education depart-

ment, where the color bar keeps down struggling merit even now. So that it is mathematically correct to say that more research work of a genuine character stands to the credit of the Post-Graduate Department of the Calcutta University during the ten years of its existence (1917-1927) than that which stands to the credit of the Bengal Education Department during the seventy years which have passed since the foundation of the Calcutta University. The Post-Graduate Department has encouraged the spirit of research even among its students, which has not been the case with our colleges. It is not entirely irrelevant to state here that the I. E. S. men and many P. E. S. men have drawn higher salaries than the generality of post-graduate teachers. It should also be borne in mind that the Post Graduate Department, which has been always entirely under Indian control, has proved beyond doubt the high intellectual and educational capacity of Indian teachers to a degree and to an extent which the Government Education Department and the Colleges do not give facilities for proving and have never done so.

Hence we earnestly hope that the Post-Graduate Department will continue to exist to promote the cause of learning and high education.

But in order that it may do so, it must get rid of "duffers," of superfluous men and of plagiarists. Those who have opposed all reform have been and are its worst enemies.

We will turn now to the adjective "generous-minded." We have not got the exact figures before us now to be able to say who have given most for the Post-Graduate Department—the Government or the people. The people have given large sums in the shape of endowments, examination fees, tuition fees, prices of text-books published by the University, etc. And what the Government has given has also come from the pockets of the people.

The starting of the Post-Graduate Department, even "on the Arts side," was "certainly" not a mistake. It cannot be said that even the Science side is not open to criticism. But the Arts side has given more scope for "patronage" of an injurious character, because, whereas in the Science College no one can be a teacher of Physics or of Chemistry who has not taken a degree in these branches; on the Arts side there have been and are self-made, patron-made and self-constituted teachers and researchers in

ancient and modern history, economics, anthropology, current Indian languages, Indian philosophy, etc. But even the presence of these prodigies should not blind one to the existence "on the Arts side" of real scholars and good teachers.

"Bengal cannot live on idealism alone or on a pursuit of culture for its own sake." Can any other province of India, can any other country, do so? Can or should Bengal live on the negation of idealism and on a pursuit of money-making alone? Both idealism and the practical spirit are required. Neither culture nor business enterprise is a superfluity in any country. But while the abolition of the Post-Graduate Department may seriously affect Bengal's idealism and culture to some extent, it is not certain that such a step will promote practicality and business.

Bengali students are generally poor and are not solvent in the sense of having comfortable bank balances. But even in countries and provinces which are not "poverty-stricken" like Bengal, has it ever been the case, is it the case even now, that the most earnest and capable students have come from the wealthier classes? Even in rich countries the money value of a degree is never a secondary factor to a large proportion of students. It is not axiomatic that "a Post-Graduate course must be the affair of a handful of earnest and solvent students." In the progressive countries of the world, those who pursue post-graduate studies are not a handful. In Bengal, we do not know what proportion of post-graduate students are earnest, but the proportion of solvent men among them may be ascertained by enquiring how many, if any, of them are beggars and loafers without ostensible means of livelihood and thieves.

Bengal has been rightly called a "poverty-stricken province", and that is indirectly urged as a ground for depriving it of its Post-Graduate Department. But if the British Government in India, which extended its empire in the country very largely with the help of Bengal's revenues, and which even now collects more revenue in Bengal than in any other province, does its duty to poor but most revenue-yielding Bengal, then it can easily maintain its Post-Graduate Departments. The following figures for 1924-25, the latest available, will show that, both absolutely and relatively to population,

Government is niggardly in its educational expenditure in Bengal.

Province.	Population.	Govt. Educational Expenditure.
Madras	42,318,985	Rs. 1,71,38,548
Bombay	19,348,219	" 1,84,47,165
Bengal	46,695,536	" 1,33,82,962
U. P.	45,375,787	" 1,72,28,490
Punjab	20,685,024	" 1,18,34,364

The British administrators of India have, intentionally or unintentionally, kept the public exchequer of Bengal "poverty-stricken," though as a milch-cow she is not deemed poverty-stricken. It is the duty of these administrators to feed the province educationally and in other ways to an adequate extent. Moreover, as Bengal is poverty-stricken, the European and fat-salaried Indian Government servants here should draw lower salaries than elsewhere.

Though Bengal is a poverty-stricken province so far as its native Bengali population is concerned, the foreign and non-Bengali Indian industrialists, merchants, traders and other exploiters here grow wealthy;—they are not poverty-stricken. Should not they be among the educational benefactors of Bengal? How many, if any, among them are so? If they did their duty, Bengal would not be hard put to it, to maintain its Post-Graduate classes.

The majority of rich Bengalis also have done little for the cause of the highest education in Bengal.

It has been said that "there never is earnestness and solvency enough among our Bengali students to justify two separate Post-Graduate machinery at two different centres in Bengal." We do not know the shop where solvency-meters and earnestness-meters can be had. So we must needs admit that we cannot refute the argument of our contemporary. But as nevertheless, we have our doubts we have to point out that the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh have five universities, four unitary and one affiliating, all of which have the right to teach up to post-graduate standards, which they do. We have also to point out that in the Madras Presidency (excluding the Indian States of Mysore and Hyderabad, which have Universities of their own) there are two Universities teaching up to post-graduate standards and there is going to be another richly endowed one at Chidambaram. So, there is no objection to there being more than two separate post-graduate machinery at more than two centres in the U. P.

and in Madras; but such arrangements are bad for Bengal, because there are few earnest and solvent post-graduate students in this most poverty-stricken province.

Let us go to a foreign country. Scotland with a population of less than five millions (as against more than 46 millions in Bengal) has four universities teaching up to post-graduate standards. We know, it will be said that the Scots are a thrifty, earnest and solvent people, and so they may have four centres of post-graduate teaching. But in 1901 Andrew Carnegie gave £2,000,000 for the Scottish Universities, "for (among other objects) paying the University fees of students Scottish born or of Scottish extraction." If Scottish students are all solvent, why did hard-headed Carnegie give away his hard-earned money for the free University education of all of them? Did he want to pour oil over oily heads, as the Bengali adage goes? Perhaps at least a considerable proportion of Scottish students are not "solvent," and yet, wonder of wonders, nobody has questioned their right to have free University education up to any standard they like!

We have no objection to the Vice-Chancellor increasing the value of the Bachelor's degree. But even when it has been made more valuable, there is no reason why the Master's and Doctor's degrees and their examinations should be scrapped. Are there no British or other occidental Universities with "valuable" Bachelor's degrees which have higher degrees also? Our inspired contemporary should be ready with its answer.

After having made a wholesale pronouncement against two centres of P.-G. teaching, our contemporary relents and becomes very kind to the P.-G., Science side, and to the endowed chairs of the Arts side. Let them remain, it says. Why? Because, for one thing, being endowed, they cannot be abolished! "But there is no reason why departments such as English, History and Economics should continue to be separate departments." It is suggested that M. A. classes in these three subjects and "some of the sister" subjects should be transferred to "the leading Colleges in the city." The only leading Colleges in Calcutta professing to be competent to teach all these subjects up to the M. A. are the Presidency and the Scottish Churches Colleges. So the suggestion comes to this that the higher Arts teaching should be placed under British

bureaucratic and Scottish missionary control, so that Indian educational talent may not have free and full scope.

There are endowed chairs in most of the subjects referred to above. With their classes transferred to some Colleges, are the occupants of these chairs to be like capitals without shafts and bases? That would indeed be a very original style of academic architecture!

Both as teachers and examiners, the best professors of the Colleges should be certainly invited to take their part in University work. Neither "youngsters," who have been sneered at, nor "old fossils," who are also at times sneered at, should be condemned as forming a class of academic Brahmans. The services of all should be utilised according to their capacity, as far as necessary and practicable.

Wanted, Economy in Calcutta University

We have always been for economy in the Calcutta University. If the University had not been, as it is now, in dire need of funds, if its coffers had been overflowing with cash, we should still have been against wasteful expenditure. But economy is all the more necessary now, because there is not enough available money even for necessary expenses, not to speak of extravagant expenditure. And economy is possible. It has become necessary, because the artificially impoverished Bengal Government will not help the University to the extent desired, unless forced to, which there is no available means of doing; nor will the Government of India do so, unless compelled to do so, which also there is no available means of doing;—though both the governments ought to supply the just requirements of the premier university in the artificially impoverished province of Bengal. All the internal resources of the University have been exploited to the full. The income from examination fees and other fees has been decreasing and will still further decrease in the coming year. With the decrease in the number of candidates for examinations the income from the sale of university publications has decreased and will diminish further. Nothing substantial would be gained by increasing the rate of tuition fees in the Post-graduate classes, as the number of post-graduate students is falling rapidly.

One has, therefore, to see how expenses can be cut down without impairing efficiency.

The post of controller of examinations with a separate office and staff was created a decade ago in order to hoodwink the public as to the real cause of the repeated leakages of question papers engineered during the Vice-Chancellorship of Sir Devaprasad Sarvadhikary. No such separate high officer, office and staff were necessary. The leakages were due not to the absence of these paraphernalia, but to other causes which need not be now discussed. If the work of the Registrar's office had grown heavy, the addition of some more clerks would have quite sufficed. We think that, if retrenchment cannot be effected immediately, then when the term of office of either the present Registrar or the present Controller expires—whichever may expire first, the posts of Controller and Registrar and of assistant Controller and assistant Registrar, and their offices should be combined and a reduction should be effected in the establishments of both offices. An enquiry should be instituted as to whether the two sides of the Post-Graduate Department have not any superfluous secretaryships, staff, etc. Proper auditing is no doubt essentially necessary. But a big Accounts staff like the present one is not necessary.

The financial condition and needs of the Law College and the Post-Graduate Departments should not be mixed up. They stand on different footings. Let us take the Law College first.

Under the scheme of Sir Asutosh Mookherji, adopted by the Senate, each section of 100 students is to be placed under the charge of two teachers. In 1927, though there were only 2300 students, yet in spite of protest, 54 lecturers were reappointed. In 1928 the number is about 2050; but still there has been no reduction of staff and expenditure. On the contrary, the cost has increased from 206 lakhs in 1924 to 250 lakhs in 1928-29! Four lecturers costing Rs. 1000 a month are engaged for delivering M. L. lectures. Now M. L. is only the examination portion of the D. L. which ought to be gained by self-study. D. L. students do not require to be spoon-fed by means of lectures. Moreover, for some years past only one candidate, in some years none at all, has been appearing at the M. L. examination, and yet the annual expenditure of Rs. 12,000 is going on!

Let us now take some of the university professorships.

Agriculture is not one of the subjects taught in or by the Calcutta University. Yet there has been since 1921 a Guruprasad Singh Professor of Agriculture, who will hold his post till 1931 at least! The emoluments of this absolute sinecure amount to not less than Rs. 6000 per annum, perhaps they are at present Rs. 9000 per annum. So by 1931 the university would be out of pocket to the extent of at least Rs. 60,000 without getting anything in return. What absurdity! What jobbery! What an expensive farce!

The Rani Bageswari Professorship of Indian Fine Arts, carrying similar emoluments, though not such an absolute sinecure as the agricultural professorship, is nevertheless also superfluous, as Indian Painting, of which the present incumbent is the greatest master, or any other fine art as fine art is not taught or offered as a subject for any Calcutta University examination.

The above two superfluous professorships have been instituted under what is known as the Khaira Trust. While this sort of wasteful expenditure has been going on, the financial prospect of the Trust is anything but satisfactory. It has invested Rs. 3,47,000 at 6 per cent. When these bonds and mortgages mature (in about 1931) and the money is reinvested at 47 p. c. net in 3½ p. c. Government Paper, the income of the Trust will be Rs. 25,612, against a permanent annual expenditure of Rs. 33,100, or a recurring net deficit of Rs. 7,488, which must come from the general funds of the University. The University also pays out of its general funds Rs. 12,000 a year as allowances to eke out the salaries of the Professors under this Trust. That is, while the Trust will yield only Rs. 25,600, the University will have to supply an additional Rs. 19,488 per annum under this head alone.

We understand that the Hardinge professor of Higher Mathematics, drawing Rs. 15,000 per annum, has or does no teaching or lecturing work! We are not satisfied that the superannuated University professor of botany and the Sir Rashbehary Ghose professor of botany, drawing high salaries, both have or do sufficient work for their emoluments. We understand that the Carmichael Professor of Ancient Indian History and Culture, drawing Rs. 12,000 per annum, has not, does not do, or is not required to do any work!

On the Arts side there has been undue inflation of curricula and papers, etc. History has been divided into General, and Ancient Indian History. The General has been subdivided into 10 special and mutually exclusive sections or 20 papers; the Ancient Indian into 4 sections or 16 papers. Sanskrit into 10 groups or 40 papers, Pali into 4 groups or 16 papers, besides a large variety of Asiatic vernaculars in which elaborate M. A. courses are supposed to be taught, by a full staffs of lecturers, and a time-table provision for teaching every group and language is made, irrespective of the likelihood of any class getting students or not.

In Pali, besides 4 compulsory papers, there are four mutually exclusive groups or sections of 4 papers, each requiring to be taught separately, but only one 6th year student in group c. * It is, therefore, physically impossible to hold classes in the other three groups (12 papers), and yet the full staff is maintained. The B and D groups of Pali 5th year, 1928. are very precarious with only one student each. We think under the circumstances, adequate arrangements to teach only the Pali language should be enough.

The natural consequence of the paucity of students in some groups is that some times students are solicited to join a particular group or subject to save the staff in it. Such teacher cannot be very strict in examining such obliging pupils, and hence first-classes often get cheap. Some times students are induced to join a particular class in Arts by free tuition being given to an inordinate proportion of them—in some languages all or more than one-half are exempted from payment of their monthly tuition charges. And even many of those who have in theory agreed to pay are not made to pay regularly every month but allowed to run into arrears and finally excused their tuition fees. (See the Minutes of the P.-G. Arts Executive Committee of June, 1928 for glaring cases). It seems an Andrew Carnegie is wanted to come to the rescue of these classes! In any case the University should not keep up a huge show of classes at an expenditure which it cannot afford simply for a few students of the above description

* There was a second student admitted at first to group A, but he has been absenting himself since October, 1927. He ought to be tempted to come back to save the staff.

whose names are kept on the rolls to provide bread for the staff.

We need not give more details. While we are firmly of the opinion that both sides of the Post-Graduated Department ought to be maintained, we are equally convinced that, if they are to be saved, all make-believe should be sternly done away with. We say this with particular reference to the fat-salaried professors who do no work, or are not required to do any. In India in bureaucratic parlance retrenchment has usually been a synonym for the discharging of a few peons or low-salaried clerks. It would be a tragic farce if the Calcutta University authorities followed this tradition and stopped short with doing away with the services of a few low-salaried lecturers, teachers and clerks, while the big sinecurists continue to be able to snap their fingers at them by taking shelter behind legal technicalities relating to the terms of their appointment and by currying favour with the powers that be. Those responsible in times past for the creation and in recent times for the continuance of these sinecures, superfluities and shams have done the greatest disservice to the cause of higher education in Bengal, including the moral education of our youth. How can farcical arrangements and sham professorships exert an elevating influence on the character of students? Our newspapers discuss in detail and *ad nauseam* the alleged merits and demerits of this or that Vice-chancellor or possible Vice-chancellor, while the most patent evils remain unexposed and unremedied. What a pity!

Pandit Gopabandhu Das

The sufferings of Orissa know no bounds. She is poverty-stricken, she has been repeatedly devastated by flood and famine, she is parcelled out among many provinces, making it impossible for her sons to make a combined effort for the amelioration of their lot. Not the least of her misfortunes is the untimely death of a devoted, self-sacrificing, well-informed, wise and pure-hearted leader like Pandit Gopabandhu Das. He was the very embodiment of plain-living and high-thinking. With that he combined incessant labours for the realisation of his high ideals for his motherland. He became known to the public first as an idealist in education by founding an open-

air school known as the Satyabadi School, which was conducted on lines different from those recognised by the education department. Later, he came to be known and respected as also a self-sacrificing philanthropist on account of his untiring labours to improve the economic, social and moral condition of Orissa. Though he thought and worked most for Orissa, he felt and worked also for India as a whole. At the time of his death, he was a Vice-president of the Servants of the People Society of Lahore.

The Simon Commission

The little concession made by the Simon Commission to the Punjab Council Committee elected to co-operate with it, which relates to evidence in camera and the calling for and inspection of confidential papers, cannot be considered by boycotters of the commission a sufficient ground for changing their attitude towards it; and so they have not changed their attitude. One of the main objections, for example, still remains—the Commission continues to be a purely British one without any Indian members in it. Our opposition to the appointment of such a commission is fundamental. In our opinion, which may be considered the opinion of an impractical dreamer, every nation or people is entitled to self-rule as its birth-right, and no foreign nation has the right to judge of another nation's fitness for self-rule. Therefore, we do not admit the right of the British Parliament to appoint a British, or an Indian, or a mixed British-Indian Commission to judge us. What ought to have been done was to take it for granted that India is to have self-rule within a year or two and then to ask the Indian legislatures to appoint a committee of Indians, with foreign constitutional experts to advise them, if necessary, for the drafting of a constitution and the elaboration of administrative details. Or arrangements for the convening of a constituent assembly might have been made.

Principal Syamacharan Ganguli

Though a man may die at an advanced age, honoured and loved by all who knew him, and after doing all his duties to the best of his knowledge and ability, yet it is human nature to feel sorrow at his departure.

Such a man was Principal Syamacharan Ganguli, who died a few days ago in Calcutta, aged 90. He was a sound scholar and a man of high character and strict sense of duty, known for his clear thinking, lucid style, and up-to-date information about the affairs of the world till almost the year of his death. He was one of the earliest graduates of the Calcutta University. Taking his B. A. degree from the Presidency College in 1860, Mr. Ganguli entered the Provincial Educational Service two years later, and held, among others, the appointments of Head-masterships of the Malda, Arrah, Chapra and Uttarpara Government Schools, Lectureship in the Sanskrit College, Calcutta, and ultimately Principalship of the Uttarpara College when that institution was founded.

He has left a trust fund of Rs. 2,000 for help to the needy of his native village, Garalgacha in the Hooghly district, and in 1921 he made over to his University Government Promissory Notes of the face value of Rs. 3,000 for the creation of an endowment for the award of two annual money prizes.

He was one of our most valued contributors. Among his contributions to the *Modern Review*, twelve full articles and an extract from another brought together in his *Essays and Criticism* in that book will be found, along with his contributions to some other periodicals. Some months ago he permitted his autobiographical sketch, written in Bengali for his family, to be published in *Prabasi*, with some omissions. It is to be hoped that an attempt will be made to bring out a fuller biography. So far as we know, he was the first Bengali to advocate the adoption and use of "spoken" Bengali in books, his article on "Bengali, Spoken and Written" having appeared in the *Calcutta Review* in October, 1877—more than half a century ago.

Famine in Bengal

Famine conditions continue to prevail in many districts of Bengal. News have been published in the papers that 29 persons have died of starvation in Balurghat sub-division of Dinajpur district! Sales or desertions of children, and the desertions of husband or wife, are also reported.

Details of the relief work being done in various districts are being published in the dailies. The appeals for help issued by the philanthropic committees doing relief work

are also to be found in the dailies. We earnestly support these appeals. Kind-hearted persons cannot make a better use of their money than to feed those who are without food—sometimes for days together.

Famine in Bankura

The editor of this *Review* has been entrusted by the Bankura Sammilani to receive contributions in cash, rice and cloth for the relief of the famine-stricken persons in a few villages in Bankura district. Other organizations are doing good work in other villages. Those who wish to help the Sammilani to do its work will kindly send their contributions to the Modern Review Office.

Sweepers' Strike in Calcutta

Some months ago the municipal sweepers and scavengers in Calcutta struck work for the redress of their grievances. They resumed work on the late Mayor Mr. J. M. Sen Gupta promising to increase their wages, to pay the wages of the strikers during the period of the strike and not to victimise any one among them. These promises not having been fulfilled even after the lapse of some months, many of these humble individuals have again struck work after giving a month's notice. We have every sympathy with them. They cannot be blamed for doing what they have done, after petitions, representations, and entreaties have failed to bring them relief.

It is alleged that the municipal authorities are trying in conjunction with the police to terrorise the strikers into submission. It would be wiser and better to look into their grievances and wants sympathetically and remove them at once. Even the poor and despised can never be crushed once they have become self-conscious. These humble servants of the public are more necessary for social welfare and a civilised existence than many a fat-salaried man dressed in brief authority.

Arrest and Persecution of Sweepers' Leaders

It has been alleged in the papers that, as part of the campaign of terrorism, two

leaders of the strike, Dr. Miss Probbabati Das Gupta and Mr. Mujaffar Ahmed, have been arrested, and re-arrested after having been let out on bail. On the other hand, the police allegation is that there are six charges against them. The courts of justice will decide whether these charges are true or false. What the public are rightly indignant over is that bail was refused for a whole night to Miss Das Gupta on some flimsy pretext or other and she was kept without food and rest the whole night in the police station. This is an outrage which throws into the shade the "third degree" treatment accorded to Miss Savidge in Scotland Yard which roused such angry feelings in and outside the British House of Commons, compelling the Home Secretary to appoint a committee of inquiry. Such outrages are possible in India because we are not a free people.

Labourers' Strikes in India

The strikes at Liloah, Jamshedpur, Asansol, etc., continue and may spread to other centres. Fear of loss of prestige prevents the men in possession of wealth and power from agreeing to negotiations with the strikers. We do not say off-hand that all their demands and grievances are just. But they certainly have some just grievances, otherwise they would not face starvation and run the risk of being shot down. Their housing conditions, for example, are a disgrace to civilization and savagery alike. Wages of Rs. 9, 14, or 16 a month are quite insufficient. We have to pay more to our menials, besides free quarters.

The Barh "Sati" Case

The Barh "Sati" case, which recently came up in appeal before the Patna High Court and in which the accused have been rightly punished, shows that there are still people who superstitiously support the inhuman and barbarous custom of concrementation of widows with the bodies of their dead husbands. Such suicide and its abetment can neither be commended nor tolerated or permitted. The best and only course which widows who want to remain widows should adopt is to lead pure and

useful lives of beneficence to their families and neighbors.

Sir A. Muddiman's Successor

The vacancy created by the sudden death of Sir A. Muddiman has been temporarily filled by the appointment of the Nawab of Chattari, senior member of the U. P. Governor's Executive Council, to the acting governorship of that province. He has not been superseded as Sir Abdur Rahim was in Bengal in similar circumstances. What is the reason?

Some people have been asking, without hope, that Sir Atul Chandra Chatterjee, who is senior to Sir A. Muddiman, should now be made *pucca* governor of Agra and Oudh. No doubt, he should be. He is an able man. But so long as the government remains foreign and the system of this foreign government remains what it is, no governor, whatever his nationality, character inclinations and capacity, may be, can do any substantial good. In small things an able and sympathetic man is of some use. But even in such matters, if they require courage and the taking of risks, other things being equal, a British officer may be able to do more than an Indian officer; because the British officer is sure to receive support even if he makes mistakes or does illegal or non-legal acts, whereas the Indian officer may not receive similar support under the same circumstances.

Responsibility of Parents of Child Wives

Recently the Allahabad High Court had to try a case of rape by an adult husband on his child wife. After passing sentence on the accused, the Judges have drawn attention in their judgment to the defect in the law which provides no punishment for the parents of little girls whom they hand over to their elderly husbands. This defect should be remedied as soon as practicable.

Housing Conditions of Indian Labourers

Dewan Chamanlal, the Indian Workers' Delegate to the International Labour Conference at Geneva, has secured the adoption of a resolution requesting the International Labour Office to investigate "the housing and general living conditions" of the workers in

India. In many industrial centres these conditions are extremely bad and insanitary. Dewan Chamanlal deserves credit for the adoption of the resolution. Such an investigation ought to have been held long ago.

Here is a description of Indian workers' living conditions in an industrial centre, taken from an article contributed to the *Daily Herald* by Mr. A. A. Purcell, M. P., who with Mr. J. Hallsworth, recently spent several months in India inquiring into labour conditions on behalf of the British Trade Union Congress.

A poor, illiterate peasant evinces more interest in his cow, or goat, in the course of one day than do the capitalists, governmental, native or foreign, in their work people in the course of a whole twelve months. My considered view is that the workers are treated worse than cattle.

Life is regarded as dirt cheap, but one would have thought that the law of self-preservation would have induced the British and native rulers to pay more attention to sanitary matters. There are women and grown-up girls, most of them remarkably beautiful—even though poorly clad—who are paid a daily wage of less than four pence for attending to the street sweeping and sewage and garbage gullies, keeping the muck moving, often pushing it along with their hands.

The housing conditions are in conformity with the prevailing sanitation I have mentioned the huts. Each hut is a one-roomed structure, windowless, built of any old thing, a mosaic of shreds and patches. May be a dozen persons, sometimes of both sexes, various ages, often not all of one family, live, eat, sleep in a room eight to twelve feet square at the most.

Over two hundred and fifty millions of the Indian people are hungry all their lives—hungry with a raw, gnawing, physical hunger. They do not get even enough rice to satisfy this hunger. All the time there are thousands who must be dying from sheer, slow, agonising, torturing starvation.

Honored During Exile

New India writes :—

Mr. Khankhoje has been an exile in America owing to the displeasure of the Indian bureaucracy. He has been a Professor in an Agricultural College in Mexico for a long time. His knowledge and efficiency have so impressed the Mexican Government that he has now been appointed a Minister of Agriculture by that State.

Satyagraha at Bardoli

Mahamata Gandhi writes in *Young India*:

Here is the naked paw. Says His Excellency : "Why should Government give up its undoubted right of administration to, as you suggest, the

decision of some independent committee? I am anxious to meet the situation in every way that is possible, but no Government would be worth the name of Government which allowed such a thing to happen."

'The undoubted right of administration' is the uncontrolled licence to bleed India to the point of starvation. The licence would be somewhat controlled if an independent committee were appointed to adjust the points in dispute between the people and the executive authority. Let it be noted that the independent committee does not mean a committee independent of the Government. It means a committee appointed by the Government of men known to be independent of official pressure and authorised to hold the enquiry in the open with the right to the aggrieved people to be duly and effectively represented. But such an open enquiry means the death-knell of the secret, autocratic revenue policy of the Government. Where is in the modest demand of the people, the slightest 'usurpation of the functions of Government'? But even the least check upon the utter independence of the executive officers is enough to send the Government into a fury. And when the British lion is in a fury in British India, God help 'the gentle Hindoo.' Well, God does help the helpless and He only helps when man is utterly helpless. The people of India have found in Satyagraha the God-given infallible *gandiva* of self-suffering. Under its stimulating influence the people are slowly waking up from the lethargy of ages.

Gandhiji then proceeds to refer to some struggles in recent Indian history which show how God has helped the weak, and also that Satyagraha is not unconstitutional.

The Bardoli peasants are but showing India that, weak as they are, they have got the courage to suffer for their convictions. It is too late in the day to call Satyagraha unconstitutional, it will be unconstitutional when truth and its fellow—self-sacrifice—become unlawful. Lord Hardinge blessed the South African Satyagraha and even the all-powerful Union Government gracefully bent before it. Both Lord Chelmsford, the then Viceroy, and Sir Edward Gait, the then Governor of Bihar, recognised its legitimacy and efficacy and an independent committee was appointed resulting in adding to the prestige of the Government and resulting in the ending of a century-old wrong. It was then recognised in Kheda and a settlement reluctant, half-hearted and incomplete as it was, was made between the Government agents in Kheda and those who were guiding the movement and the people. The then Governor of the Central Provinces condescended to treat with the Nagpur Flag Satyagrahis and released the prisoners and recognised the right claimed by the Satyagrahis. Last but not least Sir Leslie Wilson himself, when he was yet untouched by the atmosphere of 'the most efficient service in the world' recognised its efficacy in Borsad and granted the Borsad people relief.

I wish both His Excellency the Governor and Sjt. Munshi will take note of these facts that have happened within the past fourteen years. Satyagraha in Bardoli cannot now be suddenly declared unconstitutional. The fact is, the Government

have no case. They do not want their revenue policy to be challenged at an open enquiry. If the Bardoli people can stand the final heat, they will have the open enquiry or the withdrawal of the enhancement. It is their undoubted right to claim for their grievance a hearing before an impartial tribunal.

Slavery in Assam Tea Gardens

Messrs. Purcell and Hallsworth write in their report on labour conditions in India :—

"Our view is that, despite all that has been written, the tea gardens of Assam are virtually slave plantations, and that in Assam tea the sweat, hunger and despair of a million Indians enter year by year.

Anti-Purda Movement in Bihar

Some leading gentlemen of Bihar have started an anti-purdah movement. It is to be welcomed. The education and emancipation of women should proceed *pari passu*. In the purdah-ridden provinces of India it was the Brahmo Samaj which began the movement for giving women freedom and education more than half a century ago. Many other movements, since re-started or joined in by others, owed their origin to the Brahmo Samaj.

Dr. Iqbal Leaves Shafi League

Dr. Sir Mohammed Iqbal has resigned the Secretaryship of the All-India Muslim League, Lahore, known as the Shafi League, because that League's Memorandum to the Simon Commission is considered objectionable by him. Says he in his letter of resignation :—

The extract of the League Memorandum, as published in the Press, makes no demand for full Provincial Autonomy and suggests a unitary form of Provincial Government in which law, order and justice should be placed under the direct charge of the Governor. It is hardly necessary for me to say that this suggestion is only a veiled form

of Diarchy and means no constitutional advance at all.

"Since I still stick to my opinion, which I expressed at the first meeting of the Draft Committee, that the All-India Muslim League should demand full Provincial autonomy (which in my opinion is the demand of the whole Punjab Muslim Community), I ought not, in the circumstances, to remain Secretary of the All-India Muslim League. Kindly accept my resignation."

Tenth Anniversary of the Arya Pratinidhi Sabha, Fiji Islands

One of our correspondents has sent us full proceedings of the tenth anniversary of the Arya Pratinidhi Sabha, Fiji Islands, which was celebrated at Lautoka. Of the resolutions passed two deserve special mention: one about the observance of Indian festivals in Fiji and the other about the solemnisation of marriages of boys and girls according to Vedic rites. Thakur Sardar Singh made an appeal for a Kanya Mahavidyalaya to be built at Suva. £503 were subscribed on the spot and an equal sum was promised. Seth Jagannath of Labasa promised to pay the entire expenses of building an orphanage on the Gurukula grounds and Mr. Santokhi of Tabua promised to donate £100 for the creation of an Arya temple at Tabua. Some gentlemen promised to supply the timber and iron for the extension of the Gurukula and construction of a Kanya Pathshala in Lautoka.

Young men's conference was also held under the Presidentship of Mr. Raghwanand. Speeches were delivered by Messrs Gopendra Narayan, Amichand, Shrikrishna, Tej Ali, Shanti Swaroop and others. Undoubtedly the Undoubtedly Aryasamaj is doing very useful social and educational work in Fiji.

We congratulate the Aryasamajists of the Islands on the splendid success of their anniversary.

ERRATA

Page 54 Col. 1, 9 lines from top for 'rustic' read 'frame'

Page 57 Col. 1, last line for

"attest,

"With honour, honour, honour, honor to him,
Eternal honour to his name."

read attest, "with eternal honour to his name."



Paper Gods For Sale

In China the Paper Gods are freely sold and bought by the purchasers for worship. They are

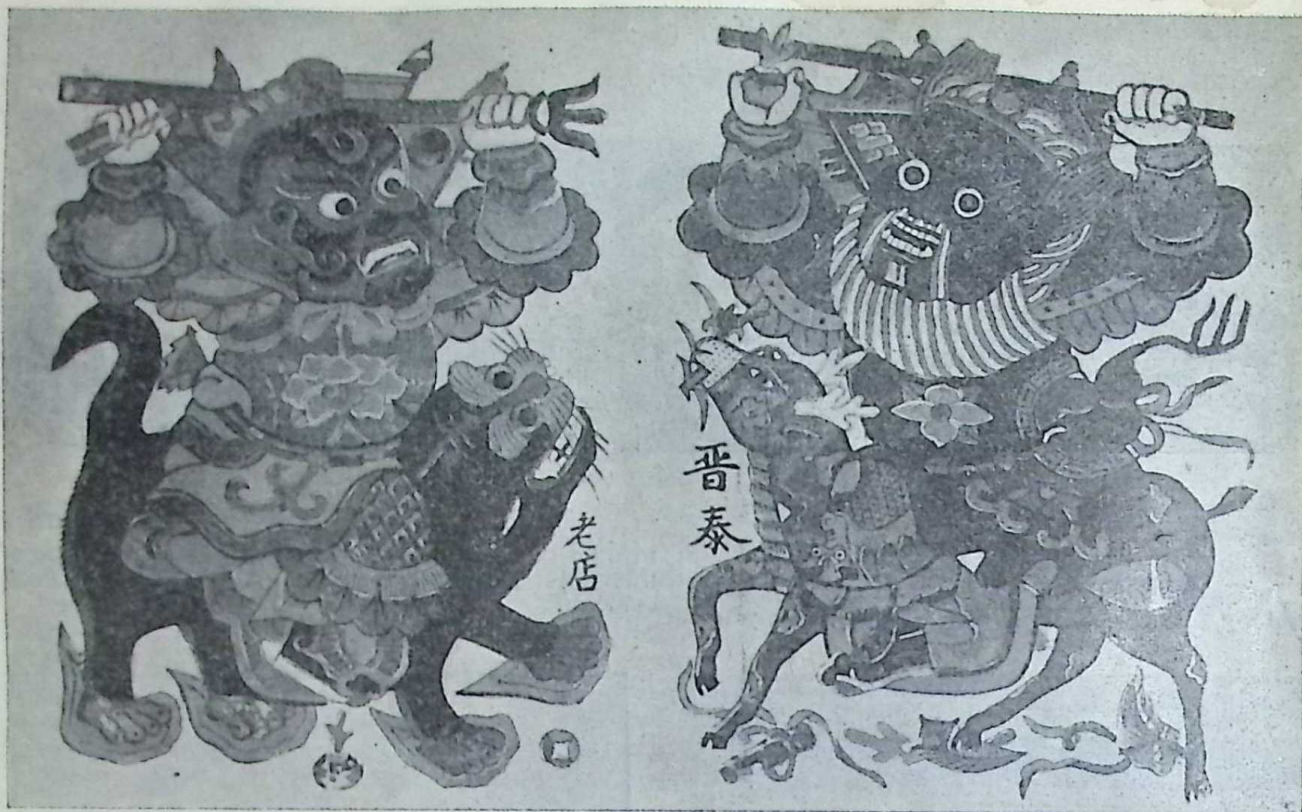
printed over in Chow Wang Miao. Here are some of them as presented by a writer in *The China Journal*.



The Chinese God of Riches



The Devil Drivers.



A Pair of Door Gods:—These are fastened on the door to keep out evil from entering the house.

A Woman Designs the Stratford Theater

The winner of the prize for a design for the Shakespeare Theater at Stratford-on-Avon is a woman. Out of seventy-two competitive designs submitted, it was one of the six selected for the final choice. Out of the six, Mr. Bernard Shaw says it is the only one that showed "any theatre sense". An invitation to compete was sent to the Architects of Canada and the United States as well as to those of Great Britain, and at least one design from America figured in the final six. The winner is Miss Elizabeth Scott, aged twenty-nine, the daughter of a Bournemouth doctor, who completed her architectural studies only three years ago.

It has a largeness and simplicity of handling which no other design possesses. Miss Scott says, "The main theory to which I have sought to give expression in the Shakespeare Memorial Theatre is that buildings should not conceal the functions which they exist to fulfil. My design certainly owes something to France, Germany, and America."



Miss Elizabeth Scott—the Woman Architect.

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